





A. M.  
3519.

M. P.  
52.



*Hydaspis filius cladem Marathonidæ à genitore re-  
gnante acceptæ ulturus, exercitum contra Græcidi  
paravit; qualem nullarum hominum memoria simul  
terræ marisq; congregatum refert; ita ut tantæ navium  
copiæ Hellespontum junxit; quod stultè iratus, virgis et ca-  
tenis verberari jussit: diuturno bello exitus variegatus  
expertus, donec magnâ clade perfractus, clam se recepit in  
Cebactana, ubi à suis, cum in magnum contemptum venisset,  
dormiens jugulatus fuit.*



THE HISTORY  
OF  
XENOPHON

Translated from the original Greek by  
HENRY GRAHAM LINGG, M. A.

PROFESSOR OF THE HISTORY OF THE  
ANTIENT GREEKS IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

Xerxes

*After a Rare Etching of the Sixteenth Century,  
in the Vatican Library, Rome*

VOLUME IV

NEW YORK  
THE TANDY-THOMAS COMPANY



THE HISTORY  
OF  
XENOPHON

*Translated from the Ancient Greek by*

HENRY GRAHAM DAKYNS, M. A.

FELLOW OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE, AND LATE  
ASSISTANT MASTER IN CLIFTON COLLEGE

VOLUME V

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 Designed by Walter Tittle after the French School  
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## ILLUSTRATIONS

**T**HE illustrations of this work have been designed to show the development of book ornamentation. The earliest forms which have survived the ravages of time are the illuminations of the Mediæval manuscripts. This art was the outgrowth of the work of the Ancient Greeks and was in turn the source from which modern book illustration has developed.

With the introduction of printing, wood cut blocks came into use but were rapidly supplanted by etchings, especially for finer work. This process dates from 1477 and held first place for centuries until superseded by steel engravings and finally by modern photographic processes.

Mr. Walter Tittle, who has made a life study of the subject, has designed a series of title-pages for this work. Each of these embodies the salient features of a particular school of Mediæval illumination, thus epitomising the whole history of the art.

The illustrations also include reproductions of a number of rare old etchings of the Fifteenth, Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, showing the Art of War among the Ancients, a number of the finest steel engravings of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries, and finally some beautiful Twentieth Century photo-mezzotints of celebrated paintings, illustrating the life and customs of the Ancient World.

THE  
HISTORY OF XENOPHON

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CYROPÆDIA BOOK IV, BOOK V,  
BOOK VI, BOOK VII, BOOK  
VIII



# THE HISTORY OF XENOPHON

## THE CYROPÆDIA

### BOOK IV

CYRUS, having waited there a considerable time with the army, and having shown that they were ready to fight, if any force would come out against them, led back his troops, as no one came forth to attack him, to such a distance as he thought proper, and encamped.

Having then placed sentinels, and sent out scouts, he took his stand in the midst of the camp, and, calling his soldiers around him, spoke to this effect: "Men of Persia, I give in the first place all possible praise to the gods; and I believe that you do the same; for we have obtained victory and safety. For these benefits, therefore, it is our duty to make thank-offerings to the gods from whatever we may have in our possession. I now praise you all generally; for the achievement that has been performed was the honourable work of you all; and when I have ascertained from the proper persons what

each man deserves, I will endeavour, both in word and deed, to give every one his due. With respect to Chrysantas, indeed, who was the centurion nearest to me, I have no need to inquire of others, for I myself know how he conducted himself; for he did whatever else I believe you all did; and when I gave orders to retreat, calling upon him by name, he at once, though he had his sword lifted up, with intent to strike an enemy, obeyed me, and, desisting from what he was proceeding to do, executed my directions; for he retreated himself, and transmitted the order, with the greatest despatch, to others; so that he brought his century beyond the reach of the missiles before the enemy perceived that we were retreating, or could bend their bows, or throw their javelins; and thus he was himself unhurt, and kept his men unhurt through his obedience. But there are others," added he, "that I see wounded; concerning whom, when I have ascertained at what time it was that they were wounded, I will then declare my opinion. Chrysantas, as a man active in the duties of the field, prudent, and fitted both to obey and command, I now reward with the captaincy of a thousand; and whenever the gods grant us any further advantage, I will not then forget him. I am desirous too," continued he, "to give you a word of admonition. What you have now seen in this battle, never cease to bear in mind;



that you may always decide for yourselves, whether it is flight or valour that saves men's lives; whether they who are willing to engage come off the better, or those who are unwilling; and what sort of pleasure it is that victory affords. You may now the better form a judgment of these things, as you have had experience of them, and as the affair has so recently taken place. By keeping these considerations always present to your minds, you will become the better soldiers. Now, like men who are favoured of heaven, and who are brave and prudent, take your suppers, make libations to the gods, commence the pæan, and await the word of command."

Having spoken thus, he mounted his horse and rode off, and joined Cyaxares. When he had congratulated him, as was proper, and had seen how things stood there, and inquired whether Cyaxares had any further need of him, he rode back to his own army. Cyrus's men, having taken their suppers and placed the necessary sentinels, went to rest.

The Assyrians, as their prince was killed, and almost all the bravest of their men with him, were all in dejection, and many of them fled from the camp in the night. Cræsus, and their other allies, on beholding this state of things, lost all courage, for everything around them was full of difficulties. What caused the great-

est despondency among them all, was, that the principal nation<sup>1</sup> in the army were altogether unsettled in their opinions. They in consequence quitted the camp, and went off in the night.

As soon as it was day, and the camp of the enemy seemed entirely abandoned, Cyrus immediately led the Persians into it first. Great numbers of sheep and oxen had been left there by the enemy; and many waggons full of abundance of valuable things. Soon after, all the Medes, with Cyaxares, marched in, and there took their dinners. When they had dined, Cyrus called his centurions together, and spoke to them to this effect: "What advantages, and what excellent opportunities, my friends, do we appear to throw away, when the gods offer them to us! You yourselves now see that the enemy have fled from us; and how can any one imagine that they who, when possessed of an intrenched post, quitted it and fled, will stand and look us in the face on equal ground? How will they, who did not stand while they were as yet unacquainted with us, stand now, after they have been beaten by us, and suffered so much damage at our hands? How should the worst of those resolve to fight with us, of whom the best have been destroyed?" Some one then exclaimed, "Why do we not immediately pursue, when the advantages of pursuit are so evi-

<sup>1</sup> The Assyrians.



dent?" Cyrus replied, "Because we want horses; for the best of the enemy's men, and such as it is most for our purpose to capture or kill, are gone off on horseback; whom we, with the help of the gods, are able to put to flight, but are not able to overtake in pursuit." "Why then," said they, "do not you go to Cyaxares, and tell him this?" Cyrus rejoined, "Come, then, all of you, along with me; that he may see that we are all of the same mind." They accordingly all followed him, and said what they thought calculated to obtain that which they had in view.

Cyaxares felt in some degree envious, as it were, because they had begun the discourse upon the subject, and thought it perhaps, at the same time, not desirable to hazard another battle (for he was indulging himself in pleasure, and knew that many of the Medes were following his example), and he in consequence replied to this effect: "I am convinced, Cyrus, both from what I see and what I hear, that you Persians are anxious, more than any other men, not to give yourselves up insatiably to any one kind of pleasure; but I am of opinion, that it is by much the most advantageous thing to be master of one's self in the greatest pleasure of all. And what gives men greater pleasure than good fortune, such as has now befallen us? If then, when we are in prosperity, we take care

to preserve it with discretion, perhaps we may, without hazard, reach old age in happiness; but if we pursue it intemperately, and endeavour to secure one piece of good fortune after another, take care lest we suffer the same fate that they say many people incur at sea, who, from having been once fortunate, are unwilling to cease repeating their voyages, and are lost; and many, they say, having obtained one victory, and aiming at more, have lost the benefit of the first. If, indeed, the enemy, who have fled, were fewer than we, perhaps we might pursue a smaller number with safety; but consider with how small a part of them it was that our whole number fought, and conquered; the rest were out of the action, who, unless we force them to fight, will go off in ignorance and cowardice, without knowing our strength or their own. But if they shall find that they are not less in danger in retreating than in standing their ground, take care lest we force them, even against their will, to act bravely; for be assured, that you are not more desirous to seize their wives and children, than they are to preserve them; and reflect that even swine, when they are discovered, betake themselves, though in great numbers, to flight, together with their young; but that, if a man pursue one of their little ones, the sow, though she be single, does not continue her flight, but attacks the pursuer

that attempts to seize it. And these men, upon this recent occasion, having shut themselves up in an intrenchment, let themselves be parcelled out by us in such a manner, that we might engage with as many of them as we pleased at a time. But if we march up to them in an open country, and they shall learn, by dividing themselves, to oppose us partly in front, as at present, partly on the flanks, and partly on the rear, take care lest every one of us may stand in need of many hands and eyes. Besides," said he, "as I see the Medes enjoying themselves, I should not now be willing to rouse them and compel them to run again into danger."

Cyrus, in reply, said, "Compel no one then, but merely allow those to follow me that are willing to do so. Perhaps we may come back, and bring you, and each of these friends of yours, something with which you may all be pleased. We will not pursue the main body of the enemy: for how could we even overtake them? But if we meet with any stragglers from the rest of the army, or anything left behind, we will come and bring it you. Consider too," said he, "that when you wanted us, we came a long way to gratify you; you ought justly therefore to gratify us in return, that we may go home possessed of something, and, besides, may not all of us look to your treasury." Cyaxares then said, "If any, indeed, would attend you volun-



tarily, I should feel obliged to you." "Send with me then one of these trustworthy persons here, who may communicate what you may desire." "Take with you, then," said he, "which of them you please." The person happened to be present who had said that he was his relation, and who had been kissed by him; Cyrus, therefore, immediately said, "This man is sufficient for me." "Let him, then," said he, "attend you; and do you," said he to him, "announce that any one, who is willing, may go with Cyrus." Taking this man with him, therefore, Cyrus went out. As soon as he had come forth, Cyrus said to him, "You will now show whether you spoke truth, when you said that you were delighted with the sight of me." "I will not abandon you," said the Mede, "if that is what you mean." "And will you then exert yourself," said Cyrus, "to bring out others with you likewise?" The Mede with an oath said, "By Jove, I will; until I make you look upon me with delight." This messenger of Cyaxares, accordingly, delivered his message faithfully, in other respects, to the Medes, and added this of himself, "That, for his part, he would not desert this most honourable and excellent of men; and, what was more than all, a descendant of the gods!"

II.—While Cyrus was engaged in these af-

fairs, there arrived, providentially as it were, messengers from the Hyrcanians. The Hyrcanians border upon the Assyrians; they are not a numerous nation, and in consequence are subject to the Assyrians. At that time they appear to have been good horsemen, and seem now to bear the same character; hence the Assyrians used them as the Lacedæmonians use the people of Sciros,<sup>2</sup> sparing them neither in labour nor in dangers; and they had commanded them on this occasion, being about a thousand horse, to form the rear-guard, that in case any danger threatened them behind, the Hyrcanians might meet it before it reached themselves. These Hyrcanians, as being to march behind all, had their waggons in the rear, as well as their domestics; for most of the inhabitants of Asia, when they go on military expeditions, are attended by those with whom they live at home; and the Hyrcanians had now taken the field with this train of attendants. But as they reflected with themselves what they suffered under the Assyrians; that the king of the Assyrians was now dead, and themselves defeated; that great terror pervaded the army, and that their allies were desponding and deserting; it appeared to them, on these considerations, to be a favourable op-

<sup>2</sup> The people of Sciros, a city in Arcadia, served the Lacedæmonians for hire; they were not mixed with the Spartans, but kept apart, and required to support the Spartans in the field wherever they were hard pressed.

portunity for revolting, if Cyrus's party would but fall upon the enemy in conjunction with them. With this view they sent messengers to Cyrus, for, since the battle, his fame had risen to the greatest height.

The men that were sent told Cyrus, "That they had a just hatred to the Assyrians; and that, if he would now march against them, they themselves would be his supporters, and put him in the way." They gave him likewise an account of the state of affairs among the enemy, being extremely desirous to invite him to the expedition. Cyrus then asked them, "Do you think that we can overtake them before they shelter themselves in their fortresses? For," added he, "we think it a great misfortune, that they stole away from us." This he said with an intention to raise in them as high an opinion as possible of himself and his people. They replied, "That if the Persians were to set out early in the morning, and march with expedition, they might overtake them the next day; as, by reason of their multitude, and the number of their carriages, they marched very slowly; and besides," added they, "having had no rest the night before, they advanced but a little way, and are now encamped." Cyrus said, "Have you any pledge, then, to give us of what you say, to convince us that you speak truth?" "We are ready," said they, "to ride



off this instant, and bring you hostages to-night; only do you pledge your faith to us by the gods, and give us your right hand, that what we ourselves thus receive from you, we may communicate to the rest of our people." He accordingly gave them assurances, that if they performed what they said, he would treat them as friends and faithful adherents, so that they should not be of less consideration with him, than the Persians or Medes. And even to this day we may see the Hyrcanians trusted, and holding posts of government, like those of the Persians and Medes that appear worthy of them.

When they had dined, he led out the army, while it was yet day, desiring the Hyrcanians to stay, that they might go with him. All the Persians, as might be expected, were already out, as well as Tigranes, with his forces. Of the Medes, some marched out, because, when they were boys, they had been friends to Cyrus while yet a boy; some, because, when associating with him in his hunting expeditions, they had been much struck with his demeanour; some from gratitude, because he was thought to have freed them from great terror; some from having hopes, that, as he already appeared to be a man of worth, he would hereafter prove extremely fortunate and great; and some, because they were desirous to make a return for what-

ever service he had done them while he was brought up among the Medes (and, from good-nature, he had obtained a great many favours for many of them from his grandfather); but most of them went forth with a view to getting spoil, because they saw the Hyrcanians going, and because a report was spread abroad that they were to lead the way to abundance of plunder. Thus almost all the Medes marched out, except those that were in the tent with Cyaxares; these remained, and the men that were under their command. The rest hastened forth with pleasure and zeal, as not going by constraint, but voluntarily, and with a wish to oblige. When they were out, he went first to the Medes, and commended them, and prayed especially that the gods, being propitious both to them, to himself, and to his people, would vouchsafe to conduct them, and also that he himself might be enabled to make them a grateful return for their zeal. He told them, that the foot should lead the way, and bid them follow with their horse; desiring that, wherever they rested or suspended their march, some of their people should ride up to him, so that they might ascertain from time to time how it was proper to proceed. Soon after, he ordered the Hyrcanians<sup>3</sup> to lead on; when they asked him, "What! will you not wait till we bring our hostages, that you may march with the pledges

<sup>3</sup> The two Hyrcanian envoys.

of our fidelity in your hands?" To this question it is said that he replied, "I consider that we have pledges of your fidelity in our own hearts and hands; for we think ourselves so well provided, that, if you prove to have spoken truth, we are in a condition to do you service; while, if you deceive us, we suppose ourselves sufficiently strong not to be in your power, but rather think, if the gods please, that you will be in ours; and since," said he, "Hyrcanians, you say that your people march in the rear, give us, as soon as you see them, a signal that they are yours, in order that we may spare them." The Hyrcanians, on hearing these words, led the way as he ordered; they admired his firmness of mind, and no longer dreaded either the Assyrians, the Lydians, or their allies, but only lest Cyrus should think it of little moment whether they were present or absent.

When they were on the march, and night was come on, a clear light from heaven is said to have appeared to Cyrus, and to the army; so that dread fell upon them all at the divine manifestation, while courage was excited in them against the enemy. As they marched without encumbrance and with despatch, they cleared, as was to be expected, a great portion of ground, and at the dawn of day drew near the Hyrcanian army. As soon as the messengers came in sight of them, they told Cyrus that



these were their people; for they said that they knew them from being the hindmost, and from the number of fires. He accordingly sent one of the two messengers to them, ordering him to tell them that if they were friends, they were at once to come to meet him, holding up their right hands. He sent also one of his own people with them, and bid him tell the Hyrcanians, that, when he and his people saw them advancing, they themselves would do the same thing. Thus one of the messengers stayed with Cyrus; and the other rode off to the Hyrcanians. While Cyrus was waiting to see what the Hyrcanians would do, he made the army halt; and the chiefs of the Medes, with Tigranes, rode up to him, and asked him what they were to do. He told them in reply, "This body of troops, which is nearest us, is that of the Hyrcanians; one of their messengers is gone to them, and one of our people with him, to tell them, if they are friends, to meet us all with their right hands held up; if, therefore, they do so, hold out your right hands to them, in your several places, and encourage them; but if they take to their arms, or attempt to flee, you must at once endeavour to let none of these that we first meet with escape." He gave them this charge; and the Hyrcanians, on hearing the report of the messengers, were in great joy, and leaping on their horses, came up, as had been told them, holding

out their right hands. The Medes and Persians, on their side, held out their right hands to them, and encouraged them. Soon after, Cyrus said, "Hyrcanians, we now trust you; and it is your part to feel similarly towards us; but, in the first place," said he, "tell us how far from hence is the place where the enemy's officers are, and their main body?" They replied that it was little more than a parasang.

Cyrus immediately exclaimed, "Come on then, Persians, Medes, and you, Hyrcanians (for I now speak to you as confederates and associates); you must be well aware that we are in such circumstances, that we must incur the greatest severities of fortune if we act remissly; for the enemy know for what purpose we come; but if we march upon them with vigour and spirit, charging them with our whole force, you will soon see them, like slaves that have run away and are discovered, some supplicating for mercy, some flying, and some without presence of mind enough to do either; since, beaten as they have already been, they see us coming upon them a second time, and, not having thought of the possibility of our approach, will be surprised in disorder, and unprepared to fight. If, therefore, we desire, henceforward, to take our food, to pass our nights, and to spend the rest of our lives, with pleasure, let us not give them leisure to contrive or execute any-

thing for their own defence, or to know even that we are men; but let them fancy that all that comes upon them is shields, swords, scymetars, and blows. And you, Hyrcanians," said he, "extending your line before us, march on in front, in order that, while your arms are seen, we may conceal ourselves as long as possible. When I have come up with the enemy's army, leave with me, each of you, a troop of horse, that I may make use of them, if I should require them for any purpose, whilst I remain in the camp. You, commanders, and men of experience, march together, if you are wise, in close order, that you may not be repulsed, if you fall in with a compact body of the enemy; and send out your younger men to pursue; and let them kill all that they can; for it is our safest course, at present, to leave as few of them alive as possible. But if we defeat them," he added, "we must beware of turning our attention to plunder; an error which has changed the fortune of many when they had victory in their hands; for he that does so is no longer a man, but a baggage-bearer, and he that will, may use him as a slave. You ought to be sensible that there is nothing more gainful than victory; for the victor possesses himself of everything at once, men, women, treasure, and the whole country. Keep yourselves intent, therefore, only on securing victory, for even the plunderer



himself is in the power of the conqueror. Remember too, when you are pursuing, to return again to me while it is yet day; for, after it is dark, we shall no longer admit any one into the camp."

Having said this, he dismissed them each to his own century, desiring them to go and communicate these orders each to his captains of tens (for the captains of tens were all in front, so that they could hear); and bidding them order the captains of tens to give these directions each to his own ten. The Hyrcanians then led the way; he himself marched with the Persians in the centre, and posted the horse, as usual, upon each wing.

Among the enemy, as soon as day-light appeared, some wondered what was coming to pass; some soon discovered what it was; some told it; some raised a shout; others loosed their horses; others packed up their baggage; others threw off the arms from the beasts of burden; others began to arm themselves; others mounted their horses; others bridled them; others helped the women into the carriages; others laid hold on what they had of greatest value, to save it; and others were found burying such things; but most of them betook themselves to flight. It may be imagined that they did other things of various kinds, but none fought, and they were cut to pieces without making any opposition.

Cræsus, the king of the Lydians, as it was summer, had sent forward his women in the night, in chariots, that they might travel with the more ease in the cool, and he himself, with the cavalry, was following. The Phrygian, they say, who was prince of that Phrygia that lies upon the Hellespont, had acted in the same manner. But when they made inquiries of some that were fleeing, and overtook them, and learned what had happened, they fled also themselves in the utmost haste. The kings of the Cappadocians, and of the Arabians, who were at hand, and standing still without their corselets, the Hyrcanians killed. The greatest number, however, of those that fell were Assyrians and Arabians; for, being in their own country, they had been most tardy in marching off. The Medes and Hyrcanians performed such achievements in the pursuit as were to be expected from men that had gained a victory. Cyrus ordered the horse, that had been left with him, to ride round the camp, and kill all that they saw going off with their arms; and, to those that remained, he ordered it to be proclaimed, "That all soldiers of the enemy whatever, whether horsemen, peltasts, or archers, should bring their arms, bound up together, to him, and leave their horses at their tents; and that whoever should not do so, should immediately lose his head." Some, with their swords drawn, stood round in

order, while those who had arms brought them, and threw them down upon the place that he appointed, and those whom he directed to do so, burnt them.

But Cyrus now began to reflect, that they were come without either meat or drink, and that without supplies it was impossible to prosecute a war, or do anything else. Considering, therefore, how these supplies might be best and soonest procured, he came to the conclusion, that for all men who were engaged in military service, it was necessary that there should be some certain person who should have charge of the tent, and who should see that the provisions were ready for the soldiers when they came in. He judged, too, that of all people, such were the most likely to have been surprised in the camp, because they would be employed in collecting the baggage; he accordingly ordered proclamation to be made, that all the stewards should come to him, and, wherever there was no steward, the oldest man of the tent; and he denounced the severest penalties to such as should disobey. They all however rendered obedience instantly, as they had already seen their masters obey. When they were come, he first ordered all such as had provisions in their tents for more than two months to sit down. When he had taken note of these, he then ordered such as had provisions for one month to sit down. Upon



this almost all of them sat down. When he perceived that such was the case, he addressed them thus: "Attend to me, my friends. If any of you dislike evil, and desire to obtain any good from us, take especial care that in each tent there be prepared double the portion of meat and drink that you used to provide, each day, for your masters and their domestics; and have everything else ready that will furnish a handsome entertainment; the party that conquers, whichever it be, will soon be with you, and will require to have all things necessary for them in abundance. Be assured, therefore, that it may be of service to you to receive them in the most unexceptionable manner." Having heard this announcement, they executed the orders with the greatest diligence; while Cyrus, calling the centurions together, spoke to them to this effect:

"We know, friends, that it is now in our power to take our dinners before our absent allies dine, and to apply the choicest meats and drink to our own use; but it does not appear to me that such a dinner would be of more service to us than to appear careful of our allies; nor would such entertainment add more to our strength, than we should gain by making our confederates zealous for our interest. If we appear so negligent of those that are pursuing and killing our enemies, and fighting any that op-

pose them, as to be found to have dined before we know how they are faring, take care lest we appear dishonourable in their sight, and grow weak by losing our allies? But to have regard to those who are engaged in dangers and toils for us, so that they may have everything prepared when they come in, is a treat that should more delight us, as I conceive, than the present gratification of our appetites. Consider also," continued he, "that if we paid no respect to our friends, still it is by no means proper for us at present to indulge in feasting or drinking; for what we proposed has not yet been accomplished, while everything has now reached a point requiring care; we have enemies in the camp many times more numerous than ourselves, and unconfined; against whom we must be upon our guard, and over whom we must place guards, that we may have people to do necessary services for us. Our cavalry are absent, causing us some anxiety as to where they may be, whether they will come back to us, or whether they will stay away. So that, in my opinion, friends, only so much meat and drink ought now to be taken by us, as may least tend to overwhelm us with sleep and want of thought.<sup>4</sup> There are besides great treasures in the camp; of which, as being common to all that were concerned in capturing them, I am

<sup>4</sup> That is, only a moderate quantity of meat and drink.

not ignorant that it is in our power to appropriate what we please; but to take them does not seem to me likely to be more profitable to us than to appear honest, and by that means to make our allies regard us with still more affection than at present. And I am inclined," added he, "to give up the distribution of these treasures to the Medes, Hyrcanians, and Tigranes, when they come; and even to consider it an advantage, if they allot us the smaller share; for, for the sake of such profit, they will the more readily remain with us. To gain a present advantage might, indeed, afford us short-lived riches, but to relinquish this temporary gain, and acquire those possessions from which riches arise, will probably, in my opinion, procure much more lasting wealth to ourselves and all belonging to us. It was for this end, I think, that we practised at home to gain a command over our appetites, and refrain from unseasonable gains, that we might be able, if occasion required, to exert these qualities for our advantage; and in what more important circumstances than the present we could give a proof of our education, I do not see."

Thus spoke Cyrus; and Hystaspes, a Persian, one of the Equals-in-honour, expressed himself in favour of his opinion, in the manner following: "It would, indeed, be strange, Cyrus, if, in hunting, we should often persevere in



abstaining from food, in order to get possession of some beast, perhaps of very little value, but, when we are in pursuit of all that is valuable in the world, should think it not at all dishonourable to us, if we should suffer any of those things to be an obstacle to us, which have command, indeed, over base men, but are under the control of the high-minded." Thus spoke Hystaspes; and all the rest approved his sentiments. Cyrus then said, "Well, since we agree on this point, send out five men of each company, such as are the most respected; let these walk round, and whomsoever they find employed in providing necessities, let them commend them; but such as they find negligent, let them chastise, even less sparingly than if they were their masters." These men did as they were directed.

III.—Some of the Medes were now bringing up waggons which had gone forward from the enemy's camp (having overtaken and turned them back), laden with things of which the army stood in need. Others brought chariots that they had taken, belonging to women of rank, some lawful wives, others concubines, that were carried about by these people on account of their beauty; for, to this day, all the inhabitants of Asia, when they take the field, go to it accompanied with whatever they value most; and say that they fight the better if their dear-

est objects of affection are present with them; for they declare that they feel compelled to defend them with ardour. Perhaps, indeed, it is so; but perhaps they observe the custom merely to gratify their inclinations.

Cyrus, observing what was done by the Medes and Hyrcanians, was almost angry with himself and those that were with him, as the others seemed to outshine them at that time, and to be continually making some capture or other, while they themselves appeared to stand in comparative inaction. They that brought the prizes, after showing them to Cyrus, rode off again, in pursuit of the rest of the enemy; for they said that they had been ordered to do so by their commanders. Cyrus, though annoyed at this, yet ordered the things away to proper places. He then called the centurions again together, and, standing in a place where they would easily hear him, spoke thus: "I believe, friends, you are all convinced, that if we had had the taking of these things that now appear before us, great gain would have been got by the Persians in general, and the greatest, probably, by us, by whose agency this enterprise has been effected. But how we, who are not able of ourselves to acquire these possessions, can possibly become masters of them, I do not yet see, unless the Persians provide a body of horse of their own. For you observe," continued he,

“that we Persians have arms with which we can put to flight enemies that close with us, but when we have put them to flight, what cavalry, archers, peltasts, or javelin-men, can we possibly take or destroy in their flight, when we are without horse? What enemies, too, would fear to come up and annoy us, whether archers, javelin-men, or cavalry, when they know very well that there is no more danger of receiving any hurt from us, than from trees that grow fixed in the ground? If such be the case, it is certain that the horsemen, now with us, must consider all things that fall into our hands not less theirs than ours, and perhaps, by Jupiter, even more so. Upon this footing, therefore, things now necessarily stand. But if we should get a body of horse, not inferior to them, is it not evident to you all, that we should be able, without them, to achieve the same things against the enemy that we now achieve with them, and that we shall find them more submissively disposed towards us? for, when they feel inclined either to remain or go away, it will be of less concern to us which course they take, if we are sufficient to ourselves without them. But, be this as it may, no one, I believe, will be of a contrary opinion to me in this, that for the Persians to have a body of horse of their own, will be in the highest degree advantageous to them. But perhaps you are considering how this ob-



ject may be effected. If then we should resolve upon raising a body of horse, let us examine what we have, and what we want. Here are numbers of horses that have been taken in the camp of the enemy, and bridles with which they are managed, and all other things which horses must have when we use them. We have also such things as a horseman must use, corselets as defences for the person, and lances which we may either use in throwing or hold in the hand. What then is wanting? Doubtless we shall want men. But these we certainly have, for there is nothing so much our own as we ourselves. But, perhaps, some will say, that we do not know how to ride; but, by Jove, none of those who do know, knew before they learned. But they learned it, somebody may say, when they were boys. And whether are boys more intelligent in learning what is told them and shown them, or men? which of the two are best able to carry into effect, with bodily exertion, what they have learned, boys or men? We have leisure, too, for learning such as neither boys nor other men have; for we have neither to learn the use of the bow, as boys have, for we know it already; nor to throw the javelin, for we know that too; nor is it with us as with other men, to some of whom agriculture gives occupation, to others various arts, and to others domestic affairs; but to us there is not only leisure

for military exercises, but necessity for them. Nor is this, like many other military matters, a thing of difficulty, as well as of use; for is not riding on a journey more pleasant than travelling on foot? And is it not a pleasure to reach a friend quickly, whenever despatch is required? Or, if it be necessary to pursue a man or a beast, is it not a pleasure to overtake it quickly? And is it not a convenience that, whatever arms are necessary to be carried, the horse helps to carry them; for, to have arms and to carry them is the same thing.<sup>5</sup> And as to what a person may have most reason to fear, that we may possibly have to come to action on horseback, before we are yet well skilled in the exercise, and accordingly be no longer either footmen or able horsemen, even this is not an irremediable difficulty; for, whenever we please, we shall at once be at liberty to fight on foot, since we shall unlearn nothing of our skill as foot-soldiers by learning to ride."

Thus spoke Cyrus; and Chrysantas expressed himself in favour of his proposal as follows: "I am," said he, "so desirous of learning to ride, that I think, if I were a horseman, I should be a flying man. As things now are, I am content, if, starting fair in a race with a man, I get be-

<sup>5</sup> Foot-soldiers may properly be said to carry or bear arms; horse-soldiers to have arms. The arms of a horse-soldier may properly be said to be carried by his horse.

fore him merely by the head, and, when I see a beast running by, if, by exerting myself, I can contrive to reach him with my javelin or arrow, before he is at a great distance from me. But, if I become a horseman, I shall be able to overtake a man, though as far off as I can see; and in pursuing beasts, I shall be able to come up with some, and strike them down with my weapon in my hand, and to reach others with my javelin, as well as if they stood still; for, if the animals are both swift, yet, if they be near one another, they will be as if they stood still. And as to the sort of animal which I think I most envy, the Centaurs, if they ever existed, and were of such a nature as to contrive with the forethought of a man, to execute what was necessary with their hands, and to exert the swiftness and strength of the horse, so as to overtake whatever fled from them and to overthrow whatever opposed them, I, assuredly, if I become a horseman, shall confer all these advantages on myself; for I shall be able to contrive everything with the understanding of a man, I shall carry my arms with my hands, I shall pursue with the aid of my horse, and shall overthrow whoever opposes me with my horse's force; yet I shall not grow and be united together with him like the Centaurs; and this is certainly better than to grow together; since I conceive that the Centaurs must have been at a



loss how to profit by many conveniences discovered by men, and how to enjoy many of the pleasures natural to horses. But I, if I learn to ride, shall, when I am mounted on horseback, perform, I trust, the part of a Centaur; and, when I have dismounted, shall take my meals, dress myself, and take rest, as other men do; so that what else shall I be but a Centaur, separated and unitable again? Besides, I shall have the advantage over the Centaur," said he, "in these respects, that he saw but with two eyes, and heard but with two ears, but I shall discover objects with four eyes, and receive notice of them with four ears; for the horse, they say, warns men of many things, from seeing them previously with his own eyes, and gives them notice of many things, from hearing them previously with his own ears. Write me down, therefore," concluded he, "as one of those that are extremely desirous to serve on horseback." "And us too, by Jupiter," exclaimed all the others. Cyrus then said, "Since this proposal is so strongly approved, what if we should make a law for ourselves, that it shall be dishonourable for any amongst us, to whom I shall furnish horses, to be seen travelling on foot, whether he has a long or short distance to go, that men may imagine us to be altogether Centaurs?" He put this question to them, and they all expressed their assent; so that, from that time

even to this day, the Persians still observe this custom; and no man of rank or honour among them is ever willingly seen travelling to any place on foot. With such discourse did they occupy their attention.

IV.—When it was past mid-day, the Median and Hyrcanian cavalry rode up, bringing with them both horses and men, that they had taken; for such as delivered up their arms they had not killed. When they came forward, Cyrus first asked them, whether they had all returned safe? When they said that it was so, he next asked them what they had done; and they related what they had achieved, and gave magnificent accounts how manfully they had acted in every particular. He listened with pleasure to all that they wished to tell him, and then commended them thus: “It is evident that you have been brave fellows, for you are now taller, more handsome, and more terrible to look upon, than before.” He then asked them what distance they had gone, and whether the country was inhabited. They told him that they had gone a great distance, and that the whole country was inhabited, and abounded in sheep, goats, oxen, and horses, corn and everything desirable. “There are two things then,” said he, “that we must consider: how to make ourselves masters of the people that possess these

things; and how the people may be induced to remain in the country. For a country well inhabited is a very valuable acquisition, but if destitute of men, becomes destitute of everything that is good. Those that offered resistance," added he, "I know that you have killed; and you did right; for to do so is of the greatest importance for preserving a victory. Those that delivered up their arms you have made prisoners; and if we should let them go, we should do, I think, the very thing that would be for our advantage; for, in the first place, we shall have to be upon our guard against them, or to keep a guard over them, or to supply them with provisions; for, doubtless, we should not let them die of starvation. Besides, by releasing them, we shall gain a greater number of captives; for, if we conquer the country, all will be our captives that inhabit it; and the rest, when they see these alive, and set at liberty, will the more readily remain, and choose rather to submit than to continue at war. I, at least, am of this opinion; but if any other person sees anything better, let him speak." But all who were listening agreed to do what was proposed.

Cyrus, accordingly, having called for the prisoners, addressed them thus: "Friends," said he, "in consequence of your present submission, you have preserved your lives; and for the future, if you conduct yourselves in the



same manner, no ill whatever shall befall you, unless it be that the same person will not govern you that governed you before; but you shall inhabit the same houses, you shall cultivate the same lands, you shall live with the same wives, and you shall rule your children as you do at present; but you shall not make war upon us, or upon any one else; and whenever any one injures you, we will fight for you. And that nobody may require you to take the field, bring your arms to us; to those that bring them, there shall be peace; and what I promise shall be honourably performed. But upon such as do not bring their arms, we will assuredly make war ourselves. If any of you, however, shall appear to come to us in friendship, and to do anything for our service, or to give us any information, we will treat him as a benefactor and a friend, not as a slave. Receive these assurances yourselves, and communicate them to the rest. And if, when you wish to act thus, there be any that will not comply with your wishes, lead us against them, that you may master them, and not be mastered by them." Thus spoke Cyrus; and they paid him obeisance, and said that they would perform what he enjoined them.

V.—When they were gone, Cyrus said, "It is time, O Medes and Armenians, for all of us to

take our suppers. Everything necessary has been prepared for you, in the best manner that we could. Go then, and send us half the bread that has been made; for enough has been made for us both; but send us neither meat with it, nor anything to drink, for of these we have enough with us already provided. And you," said he, "Hyrcanians, conduct them to the tents; the officers to the largest, (for you know which they are,) and the others as may seem best to you. For yourselves, take your suppers where it is most agreeable to you; for the tents are safe and uninjured, and preparation has been made there for you, as well as for the others. But understand this, both of you, that we shall keep the night-watch without the camp; look yourselves to what passes in the tents, and keep your arms in readiness; for they who are in the tents<sup>6</sup> are not yet our friends."

The Medes, then, and the troops of Tigranes, went to bathe, and, having changed their clothes, (for garments had been provided for them,) took their suppers; and their horses were supplied with all necessities. Half their bread they sent to the Persians, but sent no meat with it, nor wine; thinking that Cyrus's troops were sufficiently provided, because he had said that they had them in plenty. But what Cyrus meant was, that their accompaniment to their bread was hunger, and that they

<sup>6</sup> The Assyrians.

would have water from the river that ran by. Cyrus, therefore, after seeing that the Persians took their supper, sent many of them out as soon as it was dark, by fives and tens, and ordered them to go round the camp privately; judging that they would be a guard to it, if any enemy came upon them from without; and that if any one ran off with property of any kind, he would be taken. And so it happened; for many ran away, and many were taken. Cyrus allowed those that made the captures to keep the property, but ordered them to kill the men; so that, afterwards, even though a person desired it, he would not easily find a man going off in the night. Thus the Persians employed themselves; but the Medes drank and feasted, entertained themselves with the music of flutes, and indulged themselves in all kinds of pleasure; for abundance of what was subservient to such purposes had been taken; so that those who kept awake were in no want of occupation.

But Cyaxares, king of the Medes, during the night that Cyrus went out on this expedition, drank to intoxication, as well as those whom he had with him in the tent, as on an occasion of success; and he thought that the rest of the Medes, excepting some few, were still remaining in the camp, because he heard a great noise; for the servants of the Medes, as their masters were gone, drank without ceasing, and were very



disorderly; the more so, as they had taken from the Assyrian army great quantities of wine and other supplies. But when the day came, and nobody was in attendance at his gates, except those who had supped with him, and when he heard that the camp was deserted by the Medes and their cavalry, and saw himself, when he went out, that such was really the case, he was enraged at both Cyrus and the Medes for going away, and leaving him alone; and, (as he is said to have been violent and rash,) he immediately commanded one of those about him to take his own body of cavalry, and ride with the utmost despatch to Cyrus and his troops, and deliver this message: "I should not have thought, Cyrus, that you would have taken measures so imprudently for me; or, if Cyrus had thought fit to do so, I should not have expected that you, Medes, would have consented to leave me thus unguarded. But now, whether Cyrus will come or not, return to me with the utmost despatch." This was the message which he sent; but he that was ordered to go, said, "But how, O king, shall I be able to find them?" "In the same manner," replied Cyaxares, "as Cyrus and his party found those whom they pursued." "Because I hear," continued the messenger, "that certain Hyrcanians who had revolted from the enemy, came hither, and went off to show him the way." Cyaxares, on hear-

ing this, was still more enraged at Cyrus, for not having told him of the circumstance, and sent off still more hastily to the Medes, that he might draw away his troops from him; he repeated his message of recall with much more vehemence than before, and with threats; and also threatened the messenger with his displeasure, if he did not deliver his message with decision.

The officer thus sent, set off with about a hundred of his own horse, feeling sorry that he himself had not also gone with Cyrus. As they proceeded on their way, they were misled by some beaten track, and did not reach the army of their friends, till, meeting with some Assyrians that were coming back, they forced them to be their guides; and, by this means, getting sight of their own people's fires, they came up with them about midnight. When they rode up to the camp, the guards, as had been ordered by Cyrus, refused to admit them before day.

When day appeared, Cyrus, calling to him the Magi, commanded them to select what was usual for the gods on an occasion of such success. The Magi employed themselves accordingly. He then summoned the Equals-in-honour, and addressed them thus: "My friends, the gods are pleased to lay many advantages before us; but we, O Persians, are, at present,

but few in number, to secure to ourselves the possession of them; for if we do not guard what we have gained, it will fall again into the power of others; and, if we leave some of our own men as guards over what falls into our power, we shall soon be found to have no strength remaining. It appears to me, therefore, that some one of you should go, as soon as possible, to the Persians, acquaint them with what I say, and request them to send an army with the utmost despatch, if the Persians desire that the dominion and revenues of Asia should be theirs. Go then," said he, "you who are the oldest, and, when you arrive, deliver this message, and add, that whatever soldiers they send, I, when they come to me, will provide for their maintenance. You see what advantages we have gained; conceal no part of them. What part of the spoil I shall act honourably and legally in sending to the Persians, consult my father, at least as to what concerns the gods; as to what regards the public, inquire of the magistrates. Let them send also inspectors of what we do, and counsellors as to what we desire from them. For your part," added he, "make yourself ready, and take your company to attend you."

Soon after he called the Medes, and with them the messenger from Cyaxares presented himself, and, before them all, announced the anger of Cyaxares towards Cyrus, and his threats



to the Medes, and in conclusion said, "That he commanded the Medes to return, even though Cyrus should desire to stay." The Medes, on hearing the messenger, were silent, not knowing how they could disobey the summons of Cyaxares, and yet in fear how to obey him while he thus threatened them, especially as they knew the violence of his character. But Cyrus said, "I do not at all wonder, O messenger, and you Medes, that Cyaxares, who then saw a multitude of enemies, and knew not what we were doing, should be under concern both for us and for himself; but when he finds that a great many of the enemy are destroyed, and that they are all driven off, he will cease, in the first place, to fear, and will next feel convinced, that he is not deserted at this time, when his friends are destroying his enemies. But how can we deserve blame, when we do him service, and not of ourselves merely? for I did not enter on this expedition till I had prevailed on him to allow me to go, and to take you with me. It was not you that, from any desire of your own for the journey, begged his leave to march, and are now come hither; but it was because orders were given by himself to go, to every one of you that was not averse to it. This anger of his, therefore, I feel assured, will be allayed by our successes, and will pass off as his fear ceases. You, therefore, messenger, take some rest for the

present, since you have undergone a great deal of fatigue; and let us, O Persians, since we expect the enemy to be with us, either to fight or to surrender, keep ourselves in the best order; for, if we are observed to be so, it is probable we shall succeed the better in what we desire. You, prince of the Hyrcanians," concluded he, "attend here, after you have commanded the officers of your men to put them under arms."

When the Hyrcanian had done so, and came to him, Cyrus said, "I am gratified, O Hyrcanian, to see that you attend me, not merely as you give us tokens of friendship, but as you appear to me to show intelligence. It is now evident that the same things are advantageous for us both; for the Assyrians are enemies to me, and are now greater enemies to you than to myself. We must both of us, therefore, take precautions that none of our allies that are at present with us, may fall off, and that we may, if we can, secure others. You heard the Mede<sup>7</sup> recalling the cavalry; but if they leave us, we, the infantry, shall be left unsupported. You and I, therefore, must contrive that this messenger, who comes to recall them, may himself consent to stay with us. Do you, therefore, find out a tent for him, and give it to him, where he may pass his time in the most pleasant manner, with all things convenient about him. I

<sup>7</sup> The messenger sent from Cyaxares.

meanwhile will endeavour to give him some commission, which he may have more pleasure in executing than in going away. Converse with him on the many advantages that are expected to accrue to all our friends, if these matters are well managed; and, when you have done so, come again to me." The Hyrcanian accordingly went away, and conducted the Mede to a tent.

He that was going to Persia then came forward, prepared for his journey. Cyrus directed him to tell the Persians what has been before mentioned in our narrative, and to deliver Cyaxares a letter. "But," said he, "I wish to read you what I have written in it, that, being apprized of its contents, you may speak in accordance with them, if any one question you on the subject." What the epistle contained was as follows:

"CYRUS TO CYAXARES, greeting. We neither left you deserted, (for no man, while he conquers his enemies, can be without friends,) nor did we imagine that by quitting you we brought you into danger; but the greater distance we withdrew from you, the more security did we consider that we procured you; for it is not those who sit down nearest to their friends, that procure their friends most security; but it is those who drive off their enemies to the greatest distance, that rather put their friends out



of danger. Consider, then, after what conduct of mine towards you, and after what conduct of yours towards me, you now blame me. I brought you allies; not merely as many as you persuaded me to bring, but as many as I was able. You granted me, while I was yet upon friendly ground, as many as I could persuade to follow me; and now, when I am in the enemy's territory, you call away from me not simply every one that is willing to go, but the whole body. At that time, accordingly, I thought myself indebted both to yourself and them; but now you oblige me to forget you, and to prepare to make my whole return of gratitude to those that followed me. And yet I cannot act like you; but even now, when I am sending to the Persians for an army, I give directions that, whatever troops come to join me, you, if you should be in want of them before they reach us, shall be at liberty to employ them, not as they may wish, but as you yourself may desire. And I advise you, though I am the younger, not to take away what you have once given, lest ill-will be due to you, instead of thanks; and do not send for any person, whom you would have to come quickly to you, with threats; nor, when you talk of being deserted, threaten a multitude, lest you teach them not to regard you. We will prepare to attend you, as soon as we have effected what we think will

be, when accomplished, of advantage both to you and us. Farewell."

"Deliver him this letter, and whatever he asks you with reference to these affairs, answer conformably to what is here written; for indeed, with respect to the Persians, I give you such directions as are expressed in the letter." Having spoken thus to him, and given him the letter, he dismissed him; enjoining him also to use diligence, as he knew that it would be of advantage to him to return speedily.

Soon after, he observed all the Medes and Hyrcanians, and the force of Tigranes, in full armour; the Persians were also under arms; and some of the neighbouring people were now beginning to bring in arms and horses. The javelins he ordered them to throw down where he had ordered others before to throw theirs; and those, whose business it was, burned such of them as they did not want. The horses he ordered those who brought them to stay and watch, until some further directions should be given them. Then, calling to him the officers of the cavalry, and those of the Hyrcanians, he addressed them thus: "My friends and allies, do not wonder that I frequently call you together; for, as our present circumstances are new to us, many things are yet in disorder; and things that are in disorder, must of necessity give trouble, until they are assigned their

proper places. We have now in our possession much captured property, and many prisoners with it; and, from our uncertainty what proportion of the property belongs to each of us, and from the prisoners not knowing who is master over each of them, we do not see very many of them performing their proper duties, but perceive almost all of them at a loss what they ought to do. That things, therefore, may not continue thus, distribute the spoil; and whoever is assigned a tent containing plenty of meat and drink, with people to act as attendants, and with carpets, apparel, and all other things with which a military tent is properly furnished, there is nothing further incumbent on him but to understand that the possessor of such property must take care of it as his own. But whoever is fixed in quarters deficient in any of these points, you must look to his case, and supply what is wanting; for I know that of many things there will be more than enough, as the enemy was possessed of everything more than proportionate to our numbers. Besides, there have been with me certain stewards, both of the Assyrian king and of other great men, who told me, that they had with them sums of coined gold, arising, they said, from certain tributary payments. Make proclamation, therefore, for the people to bring all these things to you wherever you may fix your quarters; and strike



terror into him who shall not execute your commands. Receive what they bring, and distribute it: to a horseman a double portion; to a foot-soldier, a single one; so that, if you want anything, you may have money with which to buy it. Let proclamation be made, too," added he, "that nobody injure the market in the camp; but that the sutlers sell whatever each of them has for sale; and that when they have disposed of these articles, they must fetch more in order that our camp may be supplied."

They immediately caused these things to be proclaimed. But the Medes and Hyrcanians said, "And how can we distribute these things, without you and your people?" Cyrus to this question replied, "Do you think then, friends, that whatever is to be done, we must all attend to everything? Shall not I be sufficient to do what may be required for you, or you for us? By what other means could we create for ourselves more trouble, or do less business, than by acting thus? But consider for yourselves," added he; "we have guarded these things for you; and you have relied on us that they were well guarded; do you, on the other hand, distribute these things, and we will rely on you that you have distributed them well. We again, on some other occasion, will endeavour to exert ourselves for the public service.

"Observe, at present," continued he, "in the

first place, how many horses we have with us, while others are continually brought in; if we leave these without riders, they will be of no use to us, and will give us trouble to take care of them; but, if we set horsemen upon them, we shall free ourselves from the trouble, and shall add to our strength. If, then, you have other men to whom you would give them, and with whom you would share danger in the field, if it should be necessary, more willingly than with us, assign the horses to them; but, if you would rather have us for supporters, give them to us; for, when you rode on without us, in the late enterprise, and hurried to meet danger, you caused us great apprehension, lest you should incur some misfortune; and you made us greatly ashamed, that we were not with you wherever you were. But if we are assigned horses, we will follow you; and if we appear to be of more service while engaging on horseback with you, we shall, in that case, not be deficient in zeal; but, if we seem more likely to support you properly on foot, it will be easy for us to dismount, and we shall at once be with you as foot-soldiers, and will contrive to find people to whom we may intrust our horses."

Thus spoke Cyrus; and they replied, "We, O Cyrus, have neither men to mount upon these horses, nor, if we had, would we, when you make these suggestions, take any course con-

trary to them. "Take then," they added, "the horses, and do as you think best." "I receive them," said he, "and may we become horsemen, and you divide the public property, with good fortune! First, however," said he, "select for the gods whatever the Magi shall direct; and then choose such things for Cyaxares, as you may think most likely to please him." They laughed, and said, that they must then choose women. "Choose women, then," said he, "and whatever else you think proper: and when you have chosen for him, you Hyrcanians, render, as far as you can, all those that have voluntarily followed me, perfectly satisfied. You too, O Medes, reward these, who first became our allies, in such a manner that they may think they decided well in becoming our friends. Out of the whole, also, give a share to the messenger that is come from Cyaxares, both for himself and the men that are with him, and exhort him to stay with us, on the understanding that I approve of his stay; so that, by acquiring additional information on every point, he may report to Cyaxares the true state of things. For the Persians that are with me," continued he, "whatever remains over and above, after you are all well provided for, will be sufficient; for," said he, "we have by no means been brought up delicately, but in a frugal manner; so that you would laugh at us, perhaps, if anything mag-



nificent should be left for us; as I know very well," added he, "that we shall afford you a great deal of laughter, when we are seated on horseback, and, I doubt not, when we tumble on the ground."

They then went off to the distribution, laughing heartily about the horsemen. But Cyrus, calling the centurions to him, ordered them to take the horses, the horse-furniture, and the men that were to have the care of them, and count them, and then to assign by lot an equal number for each century. Next he ordered them to make proclamation, that whatever slave there might be, whether of the Medes, Persians, Bactrians, Carians, Cilicians, or Greeks, or from any other country, forced to serve in the army, either of the Assyrians, Syrians, or Arabians, he should appear. These men, hearing the proclamation, presented themselves joyfully before him, in great numbers; and he, having chosen from among them the best-looking men, told them that they should now become free, and carry such arms as he should give them. That they should have everything necessary, he said, should be his care; and bringing them immediately to the centurions, he put them under their charge, and bade them give them shields and light swords, that, being thus equipped, they might follow the cavalry; and he told them to take provisions for these

men, as well as for the Persians that were with him. He also directed that the centurions themselves should always march on horseback, with corselets and lances, a practice which he began himself; and that, over the infantry of the Equals-in-honour, each of them should, out of the number of the Equals-in-honour, appoint a commander in his own stead. In such affairs did Cyrus and his troops employ themselves.

VI.—Meanwhile Gobryas, an Assyrian, a man in years, came up on horseback, attended by a retinue of cavalry, all provided with arms proper for equestrian service. Those who had been appointed to receive the arms, bade them deliver their lances, that they might burn them, as they had burned the rest; but Gobryas said that he desired first to see Cyrus. The officers then left the other horsemen there, and conducted Gobryas himself to Cyrus. As soon as he saw Cyrus, he addressed him thus: “My lord, I am, by birth, an Assyrian; I hold a strong fortress, and have the command of a large territory; I have two thousand three hundred cavalry, which I used to furnish to the king of Assyria, and was very much his friend; but since he, who was an excellent man, has lost his life in the war with you, and his son, who is my greatest enemy, now possesses the government, I come to you, and throw myself

at your feet as a suppliant, offering myself to you as a servant and assistant in the war, and entreating you to be my avenger. I make you my son, as far as is possible; as, with respect to male issue, I am childless; for he, O sovereign, that was my only one, a noble and excellent youth, who loved and honoured me as much as a son could do to make a father happy,<sup>8</sup>—the present king, (the late king, the father of the present, having sent for my son, as intending to give him his daughter, when I let him go, proud, indeed, that I should see my son the husband of a king's daughter,) the present king, I say, invited him to hunt with him, and permitted him to exert himself in the chase to the utmost, as he thought that he himself was a much better horseman than my son, who accordingly hunted with him as a friend; and, upon a bear appearing in view, they both pursued, and the present king, throwing his javelin, missed his aim, (would that he had never done so!) and my son hurling his, (as he should not have done,) brought the bear to the ground. The king was then enraged, but kept his envy concealed. Afterwards however, when, on a lion coming in their way, he missed a second time, (doing nothing, I conceive, at all wonderful,) and my son, again hitting his mark, brought down the lion,

<sup>8</sup> It has been observed that the loose structure of this sentence is suitable to the agitation of mind in the speaker.



and exclaimed, 'I have hurled twice in succession, and struck down a beast each time,' the impious prince could no longer restrain his malice, but snatching a lance from one of his attendants, struck it into his breast, and took away the life of my only and beloved son! Thus I, miserable man! brought him away a corpse, instead of a bridegroom; and I, who am of these years, buried him, my excellent and dear son, a youth but just bearded. He who slew him, as if he had destroyed an enemy, has never yet shown any remorse; nor has he, as some amends for the atrocious act, distinguished with any honour him who is under ground. His father, indeed, felt compassion, and plainly appeared to sympathise with me at my misfortune; and I therefore, had he been alive, should never have applied to you to his prejudice; for I had received many instances of friendship from him, and had done him some service. But since the government has fallen to the murderer of my son, I should never be able to bear him the least good-will; nor could he, I know very well, ever regard me as a friend; for he knows how I stand affected towards him; and how, having lived with pleasure before, I am now reduced to this condition, childless and wearing out my old age in sorrow. If you receive me, therefore, and I have hopes of obtaining, by your means, revenge for my dear son, I shall think that I rise

to new life; I shall no longer be ashamed to live, nor do I think that, when I die, I shall end my days with sorrow."

Thus spoke Gobryas. Cyrus replied, "If you show, Gobryas, that you really are disposed towards us as you express, I receive you as a suppliant, and, with the help of the gods, I promise to take vengeance for you on the murderer of your son. But tell me," said he, "if we do this for you, and allow you to hold your fortress, your territory, and the power that you had before, will you do us any service in return for these things?" He answered, "I will give you my fortress for a home, whenever you come to me; I will pay you the same tribute from my lands that I used to pay to him; and wherever you shall make war, I will attend you in the field, with the forces from my territory: Besides," said he, "I have a maiden daughter, whom I tenderly love, just of an age for marriage; whom I once thought that I was bringing up as a wife for the person now reigning; but she herself has now entreated me, with many tears, not to give her to the murderer of her brother; and I have myself similar feelings; and I here give you leave to act with regard to her, as I appear to act by you." Cyrus then said, "On the understanding that what you say is true, I give you my right hand, and take yours; let the gods be witnesses between us." When

these things had passed, he bid Gobryas go, and keep his arms; and asked him what distance it was to his residence, signifying that he would go thither. Gobryas replied, "If you set out to-morrow morning, you may quarter with us the next day." He then went away, leaving a guide.

The Medes now came up, after having delivered to the Magi such things as they had directed them to choose for the gods. They had chosen for Cyrus a most beautiful tent; a Susian woman, that was said to be the most beautiful woman in Asia; and two other women, that were excellent singers. For Cyaxares, in the next place, they had chosen such as were next in merit. They had fully supplied themselves with all such things as they wanted, that they might take the field deficient in nothing; for there was everything in great abundance. The Hyrcanians took likewise whatever they wanted; and they made Cyaxares's messenger an equal sharer with them. Whatever tents were not wanted, they gave to Cyrus, that the Persians might have them; the money, they said, they would divide as soon as it was collected; and they divided it accordingly.



these things had passed, he bid Gobryas go and keep his arms; and asked him what distance it was to his residence, saying that he would go thither. Gobryas replied, "If you set out to-morrow morning, you may go with us the next day." He then went away, leaving a guide.

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Battering Ram

*Worked by the Soldiers by Mere Strength of Arm. After an Etching of the Fifteenth Century, now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford*



## THE CYROPÆDIA

### BOOK V

**S**UCH things they did and said. Cyrus next directed such as he knew to be the greatest friends of Cyaxares, to take each a portion of what had been selected for Cyaxares, and to keep it for him. "And whatever portions you give me," added he, "I accept with pleasure; but whoever of you is most in want, shall always have the use of them." Upon this, a certain Mede, a lover of music, said, "In the evening, Cyrus, I heard those female singers that you now have, and heard them with delight; and if you were to give me one of them, I think I should go to the war with more pleasure than I should stay at home." Cyrus replied, "I give her to you, and I think myself more obliged to you for asking her of me, than you are to me for taking her; so very desirous am I to please you all." Accordingly he that asked for her, received her.

Cyrus then calling to him Araspes the Mede, (him that had been his companion from a boy, to whom he gave the Median robe, that he took



off when he left Astyages to go to Persia,) desired him to keep the woman and tent for him. This woman was wife of Abradates, of Susa; and when the camp of the Assyrians was taken, her husband happened not to be in it, but was gone upon an embassy to the king of the Bactrians. The Assyrian king had sent him to treat of an alliance between them; for he happened to be a guest-friend to the king of the Bactrians. This woman Cyrus directed Araspes to keep, till he should take her himself. But Araspes, on receiving this order, asked him this question:

“Have you seen,” said he, “Cyrus, the woman that you bid me keep?” “Assuredly,” said he, “I have not.” “But I saw her,” said he, “when we chose her for you. When we first went into her tent, we could not, to say the truth, distinguish her from the others; for she was sitting upon the ground, with all her women-servants round her, and had indeed a dress like that of her servants; but when we looked round on them all, desiring to know which was the mistress, she at once was seen to excel all the others, though she was sitting with a veil over her, and looking down upon the ground. When we asked her to rise, all the servants round her stood up with her; and she was then distinguishable above them all, not only in stature, but in beauty and grace, though she was standing with

a dejected air, and tears were seen falling from her eyes, some upon her clothes, and some at her feet. But when the eldest of us said to her, 'Take courage, lady; we have heard that your husband is, indeed, an honourable and excellent man, but we now select you for a man that, be assured, is not inferior to him in person, or possessed of less understanding, or power; for, as we think, if there be a man in the world that deserves admiration, it is Cyrus, to whom you shall henceforth belong;' the woman, on hearing these words, tore down the upper part of her robe, and uttered a lamentable cry; and her servants cried out at the same time with her; while the greater part of her face discovered itself, and her neck and hands were also visible; and believe me, Cyrus," continued he, "it was thought by me, and all the rest that saw her, that never was yet produced, or born of mortals, such a woman, throughout all Asia. But by all means," said he, "go yourself to see her."

"Certainly not," rejoined Cyrus, "much less if she be such a one as you say." "Why so?" said the young man. "Because," said Cyrus, "if, on now hearing from you that she is handsome, I should be persuaded to go and see her, at a time that I have not much leisure, I am afraid that she will much more easily persuade me to come and see her again; and, in consequence, perhaps I might neglect what I ought

to do, and sit gazing at her." The young man then laughed, and said, "And do you think, Cyrus, that the beauty of a human being can necessitate a person, against his will, to act contrary to what is best? If this were naturally the case," added he, "it would necessitate all men alike. You see how fire burns all people indiscriminately; for such is the order of nature; but of beautiful objects, people love some, and not others; and one loves one, and another another; for it is voluntary, and every one loves those that he pleases. For example, a brother does not fall in love with his sister, but somebody else falls in love with her; a father does not fall in love with his daughter, but some other person falls in love with her; for fear and the law are sufficient to prevent love. If indeed," continued he, "the law should enjoin, that those who did not eat should not be hungry, and that those who did not drink should not be thirsty; that men should not be cold in the winter, or hot in the summer; no law could make men obey such injunctions, for men are formed by nature to be subject to these things. But to love is a voluntary matter; and every one loves that which suits him, as he loves his clothes or his shoes." "But if to love be voluntary," said Cyrus, "how is it that a person cannot desist from loving when he pleases? For I have seen persons," continued he, "in tears



from grief, in consequence of love; slaves to those with whom they were in love, though they thought slavery a very great evil before they were in love; giving away many things with which they had better not have parted; wishing to be rid of love, as they would of any other distemper, and yet not able to rid themselves of it, but bound to it by a stronger necessity than if they had been bound with iron chains! They give themselves up therefore to those they love, to serve them in many unaccountable ways; yet, with such troubles, they never attempt to escape, but keep continual watch upon the objects of their affection, lest they should escape from them."

The young man, in reply, said, "There are people, indeed, who act thus, but such persons are miserable; and this, I believe, is the reason why they are always wishing themselves dead, as being unhappy; but, though there are ten thousand ways of ridding themselves of life; they yet do not rid themselves of it. Just such wretches as these, are they that attempt thefts, and will not abstain from what belongs to others; but when they have seized or stolen anything, you see," said he, "that you are the first to accuse the thieves and plunderers, not considering theft to be a matter of necessity; and you do not pardon, but punish them. So persons that are beautiful do not necessitate others

to love them, nor to covet what they ought not; but weak and unhappy men are powerless, I know, over all their passions, and then they lay the blame upon love. But honourable and worthy men, though they may feel a desire for gold, or fine horses, or beautiful women, can yet with ease abstain from any of them, so as not to touch them contrary to what is right; I, at least," said he, "though I have seen this woman, and though she appears very beautiful to me, am yet here attendant on you, and ride my horse, and discharge my duty in other respects."

"But, by Jove," said Cyrus, "you, perhaps, retired before the time that love naturally lays hold of a man. It is possible that a person touching fire, may not immediately be burned; and wood does not immediately blaze up; yet I do not willingly touch fire, or gaze on beautiful persons; and I advise you, Araspes, not to let your eyes dwell long upon beautiful persons; for as fire burns those that touch it, beautiful persons inflame those that look at them even from a distance, so that they are set on fire with love." "Have no fear," said he, "Cyrus; though I look at her without ceasing, I shall not be so overcome, as to do anything that I ought not to do." "You speak," said he, "extremely well; guard her, therefore," added he, "as I tell you, and be careful of her; for per-

haps this woman may be of great service upon some occasion or other." After conversing in this manner they separated.

This young man, however, partly from seeing the woman to be extremely beautiful, and observing her worth and goodness, partly from waiting upon her and thinking that he pleased her, and partly from finding her not ungrateful in return, but taking care, by means of her servants, that everything necessary should be provided for him when he came in, and that he should want nothing if he happened to be ill, was by all these means made her captive in love; and perhaps incurred nothing wonderful. Such was the course of this matter.

But Cyrus, wishing that both the Medes and allies should stay with him of their own accord, called together all the chief officers, and, when they were met, spoke to them to this effect: "Medes, and all you that are here present, I know very well that you came with me, not from any desire to get money, nor with the thought of thus serving Cyaxares, but that you were willing to oblige me in the matter, and, in honour to me, consented to march by night, and to face danger with me. For such conduct I must feel grateful to you, unless I have lost all sense of justice; but to make you a due return for it, I do not think that I have yet the power; and this I am not ashamed to say. But



to say, 'I will make you a return, if you will stay with me,' I should, I assure you, feel ashamed; for I should think that I should seem to say this only that you might be more willing to stay with me. Instead of saying so, therefore, I say this: 'Even if you now go away in obedience to Cyaxares, I will yet endeavour, if I meet with any success, to act towards you in such a manner as that you may commend me.' For my own part, I shall not go; but shall adhere to the promises and engagements which I made to the Hyrcanians, and shall not be found betraying them; and to Gobryas also, who delivers up to us his fortresses, his territory, and his whole power, I will endeavour to act in such a manner, that he shall not repent his journey to me; and, what is more than all, when the gods so evidently offer advantages to us, I ought to reverence them, and be ashamed to make a causeless retreat and abandon all. Thus, then," concluded he, "shall I act; you must do as you think proper, and tell me what your inclination is." Thus spoke Cyrus.

He who had previously said that he was related to Cyrus was the first to reply: "For my own part," said he, "O king! (for you seem to me to be a king by nature, not less than the chief of the bees in a hive is naturally a queen; for the bees always willingly obey her; where she remains, not one departs thence; and if she

goes out, not one of them stays behind; so strong a desire to be governed by her is innate in them; and men seem to me to be similarly disposed towards you; for when you left us to go to Persia, what Mede, either young or old, stayed behind, and did not follow you, till Astyages caused us to return? and when you set out from Persia to our assistance, we again saw almost all your friends voluntarily following you; when you were desirous to undertake the expedition hither, all the Medes willingly attended you; and we now feel so disposed, that, with you, though we are in an enemy's country, we are full of courage, but without you we should even be afraid to go home;) the rest, therefore, shall say for themselves how they will act, but I myself, Cyrus, and those whom I command, will remain with you, and will bear to look upon you, and endure to receive benefits from you."

Tigranes next said, "Do not at all wonder, O Cyrus, if I am silent; for my mind," added he, "is not prepared to advise you, but to do what you command."

The Hyrcanian then said, "For my part, O Medes, if you were now to go away, I should say that it was the malicious design of some deity, not to suffer you to be in the highest degree happy; for who, with ordinary human prudence, would turn back when the enemy are

fleeing, or would not take their arms when they deliver them up, or would refuse to receive their persons and their possessions when they surrender them, especially when we have such a leader as seems to me, I swear to you by all the gods, to be more pleased with doing us good, than with enriching himself?" Upon this the Medes exclaimed, "You, O Cyrus, have led us out, and when you think it time to return, lead us back again with you." Cyrus, hearing this exclamation, offered the following prayer: "O supreme Jove, grant me, I entreat thee, to surpass in good offices those that pay me such honour!"

He then ordered the rest to place their guards, and attend to their comforts; but the Persians he directed to distribute the tents, assigning to the horse-soldiers such as were proper for them, and to the foot such as were sufficient for the foot; and desired them so to regulate matters, that they who were in the tents, despatching the business there, should bring all necessaries to the Persians at their stations, and present them their horses in proper condition, that the Persians might have nothing to do but to attend to matters of war. Thus they passed this day.

II.—The next morning, as soon as they arose, they set out to visit Gobryas. Cyrus went on



horseback with the Persian cavalry, who were in number about two thousand. They who carried their shields and swords followed them, being equal to them in number; and the rest of the army marched in regular order. He directed them each to tell their new servants, that whoever of them should either be seen behind the rear-guard, or should advance before the front, or should be found on the outside of those that were in their rank upon either wing, should be punished.

On the second day, towards the evening, they arrived at the dwelling of Gobryas. They saw that it was an exceedingly strong fortress, and that all things were provided on the walls, to enable him to make a vigorous defence; and they observed abundance of oxen and sheep driven up close under the fortification. Gobryas, sending to Cyrus, asked him to ride round, and see where the access was most easy, and to send in to him some of those in whom he confided, who, having seen how things stood within, might give him an account of them. Cyrus accordingly, desiring in reality to see whether the fortress might be taken on any side, should Gobryas be found false, rode round the whole, but saw every part too strong to be assailed. Those whom Cyrus sent in to Gobryas brought him an account, that there was such a store of provisions within, as could not, they

thought, even in a generation of men, fail the people that were there. Cyrus was somewhat concerned as to what might be the object of such preparation; when Gobryas himself came out to him, and brought out all his men, some carrying wine, barley-meal, or flour, and others driving oxen, goats, sheep, and swine; and they brought abundance of everything that was eatable, so that the whole army of Cyrus might take their supper. Those who were appointed for this service,<sup>1</sup> distributed all these provisions, and prepared supper.

Gobryas, when all his men were come out, invited Cyrus to enter, as he might think most safe. Cyrus, therefore, sending in some of his officers, to see the state of things, and a force with them, went in, after this precaution, himself. When he had entered, keeping the gates open, he summoned all his friends and the commanders of the troops with him; and when they were come in, Gobryas, producing cups of gold, pitchers, and urns, all manner of furniture, a vast number of darics, and magnificent things of every kind, and, at last, bringing out his daughter, a person of admirable beauty and stature, but in affliction for the death of her brother, spoke thus:

“I give you, Cyrus, all these treasures, and intrust to you this my daughter, to dispose of her as you think fit; and we are both your sup-

<sup>1</sup> These were the tent-stewards.

pliants: I, as before, that you would be the avenger of my son; and she, now, that you would be the avenger of her brother."

Cyrus, in reply, said, "I promised you then, that, if you told me no falsehood, I would avenge you to the utmost of my power; and now, when I find that you speak truth, I am bound to perform my promise; and I promise your daughter, with the help of the gods, to do exactly as I said. These treasures," continued he, "I accept, but give them to this your daughter, and to the man that shall marry her. But I shall go away with one present from you, in exchange for which, though I could have the riches of Babylon, extremely great as they are, or even those of the world, instead of that which you have given me, I should not go away with more pleasure." Gobryas, wondering what this could be, and suspecting that he might mean his daughter, put the question to him, and said, "O Cyrus, what is it?" Cyrus replied, "It is this, Gobryas. I believe that there may be numbers of men that would not be guilty either of impiety or injustice, or be voluntarily false; but, because nobody has thought proper to throw either great treasures, or power, or strong fortresses, or lovely children, into their hands, die before they could show what kind of persons they were; but you, by having now put into my hands both strong fortresses, and wealth of all



kinds, your whole army, and your daughter, a most valuable possession, have made it manifest to all men with regard to me, that I would neither be guilty of impiety towards friends that entertain me, nor of injustice for the sake of riches, nor be willingly faithless to compacts. This, therefore, be assured I will never forget as long as I am a just man, and as long as I am praised by men for being thought to be such; but I will endeavour to distinguish you in return with every honour. And do not be afraid of wanting a husband for your daughter worthy of her; for I have many excellent friends, of whom some one shall marry her. Whether however he will have as much treasure as you give, or many times more, I cannot say; but be assured, that there are some of them, who, for all the treasures you give, do not esteem you at all the more; but they now emulate me, and supplicate all the gods, that they may at some time be able to show that they are not less faithful to their friends than I am, and that, while alive, they will never yield to their enemies, unless some god render them powerless; and be certain that, in exchange for virtue and good reputation, they would not accept of all the treasures of the Syrians and Assyrians added to your own. Such men, believe me, are sitting here." Gobryas, with a smile, said, "By the gods, Cyrus, show me where these men are, that

I may beg of you one of them to be my son.”  
“It will not be at all necessary for you,” rejoined Cyrus, “to ask that question of me; for if you will but attend us, you yourself will be able to show every one of them to anybody else.”

Having said this, he took Gobryas by the right hand, rose, went out, and led out all that were with him; and though Gobryas repeatedly invited him to sup within, he would not do so, but supped in the camp, and took Gobryas to sup with him. After he had stretched himself on a mat, he put this question to him: “Tell me,” said he, “Gobryas, whether do you think that you, or we here, have the greatest plenty of furniture for couches?” “By Jove,” replied he, “I know very well that you have more furniture of this kind, and more couches too; and your dwelling is much larger than mine; for you have the earth and the heaven for a habitation, and couches as many as there are spots upon the ground to lie on; and for their furniture, you do not think that you have as much merely as sheep produce of wool, but as much as the mountains and plains produce of brushwood.”

Gobryas, on supping with him for the first time, and observing the plainness of the meats set before them, thought that he and his people lived in a much nobler manner than the Persians. But when he noticed the temperance of

those who sat at meat with him; for no Persian, among the well-educated, would ever indicate that he was struck with any sort of meat or drink, either by his looks, or by eagerness to help himself, or by abstraction of mind, so as not to notice such other matters as he would notice, if he were not at his meal; but, as good horsemen, from being undisturbed on horseback, are able, at the same time that they ride, to see, hear, and speak what is requisite; so the Persians, at their meals, think that they ought to appear discreet and temperate; and to be much moved with any sort of meat or drink, they consider to be rude and offensive; and when he contemplated, likewise, their manner of conversation, how they asked each other such questions as were more agreeable to be asked than not; how they rallied each other on points on which it was more agreeable to be rallied than not; and how the jests which they uttered were far from being offensive, and far from giving rise to anything unbecoming, or from rendering them irritated at one another; he was constrained to alter his opinion, and to acknowledge that the Persian mode of living was preferable to his own. But what seemed to him most extraordinary of all, was, that when they were engaged in military service, they did not think that greater plenty should be set before themselves than before any one of those enter-



ing into the same dangers with them; but thought it the noblest of feasts to put those that were to be their fellow-combatants into the best possible condition. And when Gobryas rose up to go home, he is reported to have said, "I no longer wonder, Cyrus, that though we possess fine vessels, rich habits, and gold, in greater abundance than you do, we are men of less worth than you are; for we endeavour to obtain as many of these things as we can, but you seem to study how you may become most excellent men." Thus he spoke; and Cyrus added, "See that you attend in the morning, Gobryas, with your cavalry fully equipped; that we may see your force, and that you may conduct us, at the same time, through your territory, that we may know what we are to regard as belonging to our friends, and what to our enemies." After holding this conversation, they went each to his own abode.

When it was day, Gobryas came with his cavalry, and conducted them. Cyrus, as became a commander, was not only attentive to his present route, but, as he advanced, tried to ascertain whether it would be in his power, by any means, to render the enemy weaker, and his own party stronger. Calling, therefore, the Hyrcanian and Gobryas to him, (for he thought that they understood best what he deemed it necessary for him to learn,) he said, "My friends, I think

that I shall not be in the wrong, if I consult with you upon the subject of this war, as with trustworthy persons; for I find that it is more your business than mine, to take care that the Assyrian may not get the better of us; for to me, if I fail in my undertaking here, there may possibly be some other resource; but, as to you, if he gain the mastery, I see that all is lost. For to me he is an enemy, not because he hates me, but because he thinks it disadvantageous to himself that we should be powerful, and for this reason he makes war upon us; but you he hates, as supposing that he has been injured by you." To this they both answered similarly, "That he should proceed to say what he meant, as they knew his views, and were greatly concerned in what the course of affairs might result."

Cyrus then began thus: "Tell me," said he, "does the Assyrian think that you are the only people at enmity with him, or do you know anybody else that is his enemy?" "Yes, by Jove," said the Hyrcanian, "the Cadusians are his enemies in the highest degree, and are a strong and numerous people; the Sacians too, that are our borderers, and who have suffered many hardships at the hand of the Assyrian, for he endeavoured to subdue them as well as us." "Do you not think, therefore," said he, "that they would both gladly fall upon the Assyrian, in conjunction with us?" "Most

gladly," said they, "if they could by any means join us." "What is there then between," said he, "to hinder them from joining us?" "The Assyrians," replied they; "the very nation through which you are now marching."

After Cyrus had heard this, "Do you not then, Gobryas," said he, "charge this young man, that is now placed on the throne, with great insolence of disposition?" "Yes," said Gobryas, "for such is the treatment that I have experienced from him." "And has he," said Cyrus, "shown himself such only towards you, or to others besides?" "By Jove," said Gobryas, "to others as well. But why need I mention the wrongs that he has done to the weak? For he took the son of a man far more powerful than myself, when he was his companion, as mine was, and was drinking with him at his own table, and emasculated him; because, as some say, a mistress of his had commended him as a handsome man, and declared that woman happy that was to be his wife. But, as the king himself now says, it was because he had attempted to seduce his mistress. This man is now a eunuch, and since the death of his father, holds his father's government." "Do you not think, then," said he, "that this man would see us with pleasure, if he thought that we would support him?" "I know it very well," said Gobryas: "but to come at the sight



of him, Cyrus, is a difficult matter." "How so?" said Cyrus. "Because whoever would join him, must pass by Babylon itself." "And why should that be difficult?" "Because, by Jove," said Gobryas, "I know the forces sent out from Babylon alone, are much greater than those which you have at present with you; and be assured, that the Assyrians are now less forward than before to bring you arms and horses, for this very reason, that your force appears to be but small to those that have had a view of it; and a rumour to this effect has been already widely spread abroad; and it seems better to me," added he, "that we should march with great caution."

Cyrus, after listening to this intimation from Gobryas, answered him as follows: "You appear to advise us well, Gobryas, when you admonish us to pursue our march with the utmost caution; and, upon consideration, I cannot think of any route safer for us to pursue than that to Babylon itself, if the principal strength of the enemy lies there; for, as you say, they are numerous; and, if they have courage, they will also, I think, show themselves<sup>2</sup> to us. By not seeing us, however, but imagining that we remain out of their sight from fear of them, be assured," continued he, "that they will be re-

<sup>2</sup> If they have courage, they will show themselves; if they have none, their numbers will be of little avail.

lieved from the dread that has fallen upon them, and courage will spring up in its stead; a courage which will be so much the greater, the longer they are without seeing us. But if we march upon them at once, we shall find many of them still lamenting for those that have been killed by us, many with the wounds bound up which they have received from our people, and all yet remembering the courage of this army as well as their own flight and loss. And believe me, Gobryas, that you may feel assured of this, that a multitude, when they are in spirits, raise in themselves a courage not to be resisted, but, when they are in fear, the more numerous they are, the greater and more overpowering is the terror that they conceive; for it comes upon them, increased by numerous evil reports, and gathers to a head from many unhappy circumstances, and from many dejected and astonished looks; so that, from its greatness, it is not easy either to suppress it by words, or to excite courage in the people by leading against the enemy, or to revive a spirit in them by retiring; but, the more you exhort them to take heart, the more they imagine themselves to be surrounded with perils. Let us consider, however, exactly how the matter stands; for if victories in warlike enterprises are henceforth to fall to whatever party has the greatest numbers, you are in the right to fear for us, and we are in

reality in dangerous circumstances; but if engagements, as heretofore, are still to be decided by the merit of the combatants, you will not be wrong in being of good courage; for, with the help of the gods, you will find more among us eager to engage, than among them. And, that you may be still more encouraged, reflect also that the enemy are at this time much fewer than they were before they were beaten by us, and much less courageous than when they fled from us; but we are stronger since we have gained a victory, more confident since we have met with the favour of fortune, and more numerous since you have joined us; for you need not still think meanly of your people, now that they are with us; for be assured, Gobryas, that they who attend the victorious, follow with confidence; nor let this escape your consideration," said he, "that the enemy is even now at full liberty to see us; but that we should by no means appear more terrible to them by waiting their approach, than by marching against them. As this, therefore, is my opinion, conduct us straight to Babylon."

III.—Pursuing their march, accordingly, they reached the boundaries of Gobryas's territory upon the fourth day. When Cyrus had entered the enemy's country, he took the foot to himself, and as many of the horse as he



thought proper, and drew them up in order; the rest of the horse he sent out upon excursions; and ordered them to kill those that were in arms, but to bring the rest, with whatever cattle they might take, to him. He ordered the Persians also to join in these excursions; and many of them returned, after being thrown from their horses, but many of them brought off considerable booty. When the spoil was set before him, he called together the officers of the Medes and Hyrcanians, together with the Equals-in-honour, and addressed them thus: "Gobryas, my friends, has entertained us all with good things in great abundance; if, therefore, after having selected what is usual for the gods, and what will be sufficient for the army, we should give the remainder of the spoil to him, should we not do a proper thing, by making it at once apparent, that we endeavour to surpass our benefactors in doing kindness to them?" When they heard this proposal, they all commended and applauded it; and one of them spoke thus: "We will do so, Cyrus," said he, "by all means; for Gobryas seems to me to take us for indigent people; because we did not come with abundance of darics, and do not drink out of golden cups; but, if we do what you propose, he may understand that it is possible to be generous, even without gold." "Go then," said Cyrus, "and, having delivered to

the Magi what is due to the gods, and taken what is sufficient for the army, call Gobryas, and give him the remainder." Accordingly, having taken as much as was necessary, they gave the rest to Gobryas.

He then marched on towards Babylon itself, disposing his army in the same order as on a day of battle. As the Assyrians declined to come out against him, Cyrus desired Gobryas to ride forward, and to say that, if the king were willing to come out and fight for his country, he would engage with him; but if he would not defend his country, he must of necessity submit to his conquerors. Gobryas rode on as far as it was safe, to deliver this message; and the king sent a person out with an answer, to the following effect: "Gobryas, your sovereign says, I do not repent that I put your son to death, but I repent that I did not put you to death likewise! If you would fight, come hither upon the thirtieth day from hence; we are not yet at leisure, for we are still employed in our preparations." Gobryas then said, "May that repentance never leave you! for, it is evident that I have caused you some affliction ever since such repentance took possession of you."

Gobryas reported this message from the Assyrian; and Cyrus, having heard it, drew off the army, and calling Gobryas to him, "Tell me," said he, "did you not say, that you

thought the man who had been emasculated by the Assyrian king, would join us?" "I think I am sure of it," replied he; "for he and I have often conferred together with great freedom." "When you think proper, therefore," said Cyrus, "go to him: and, in the first place, contrive that you and he alone may know what he says upon the subject; and, when you have conferred with him, if you find him inclined to be our friend, you must then contrive that he may not be known to be our friend; for no one can do greater service to his friends in war by any other means than by appearing to be their enemy; or do greater harm to his enemies by any other means than by appearing to be their friend." "I know indeed," said Gobryas, "that Gadatas would even pay a price for the power of doing some great harm to the Assyrian king; but we must consider what it is that he can do." "Tell me, then," said Cyrus, "with regard to that fortress which lies upon the frontiers of this country, and which you say was built as a defence to it in war against the Hyrcanians and Sacians, do you think," said he, "that the eunuch would be allowed by the commander to enter it if he came with a force?" "Certainly," said Gobryas, "if he came to him unsuspected as now he is." "And," said Cyrus, "if I should fall upon the places that are in his possession, as if I wished to make myself



master of them, and he should defend them against me with his whole force; and if I should take something of his, and he, on the other hand, should capture either some of our people, or some messengers sent by me to such people as you say are enemies to the Assyrian; and if the persons so captured should declare that they were going to bring forces, and to fetch ladders for the attack of the fortress, and the eunuch, on hearing these statements, should pretend that he came with the intention of making a similar communication, he would assuredly continue unsuspected."

Gobryas then said, "If matters are managed thus, I know very well that he would admit him, and would beg him to stay till you should depart." "And then," said Cyrus, "if he once gained an entrance, could he not give up the fortress into our hands?" "Very probably," said Gobryas, "if he took part in the arrangements within, and you made a vigorous assault from without." "Go then," said he, "and, after you have given him these instructions, and arranged the proceedings, endeavour to join us here again; but as for pledges of faith, neither mention, nor intimate to him, any greater than those which you yourself received from us."

Soon after, Gobryas set out. The eunuch saw him with great pleasure, consented to

everything, and arranged with him what was proper to be done.

When Gobryas had brought word that the whole business of his mission to the eunuch appeared satisfactorily settled, Cyrus proceeded to attack him the following day. Gadatas defended himself; and Cyrus took some other place such as Gadatas had pointed out; while of some messengers that Cyrus had sent, directing them beforehand, which way they should go, Gadatas suffered a part to escape, that they might bring up forces and fetch ladders; but such as he took, he examined, in the presence of many persons; and, when he had heard for what purpose they said that they were going, he immediately prepared for a journey, and marched off in the night, as if to go and give an account of the matter; in fine, he was trusted, and entered the fortress, as an ally to defend it. For a while he concurred with the governor in every arrangement, as far as he could; but when Cyrus came up, he seized the fortress, making the prisoners, whom he had taken from Cyrus, his assistants in securing it.

When this was done, Gadatas, having settled matters within, came out immediately to Cyrus, and, having paid him obeisance in the usual manner, he said, "Joy to you, O Cyrus!" "I have it," said he, "already; for, with the help

of the gods, you not only bid me, but oblige me to rejoice; for, be assured," said he, "that I esteem it of great importance to leave this place to my allies in these parts. The power of procreating children, Gadatas, the Assyrian, it seems, has taken from you; but he has not deprived you of the power of acquiring friends, and, be assured that, by this act, you have made friends of us, who will endeavour, if we are able, to be not less valuable supporters to you, than if you had sons or grandsons."

Thus spoke Cyrus; and the Hyrcanian, who just now understood what had been done, ran to Cyrus, and taking him by the right hand, said, "Oh, how great a blessing, Cyrus, are you to your friends! What a debt of gratitude and thanks do you make me owe to the gods, for having joined me in alliance with you!" "Go then, presently," said Cyrus, "and take possession of the place on account of which you are so pleased with me, and dispose of it in such a manner, that it may be of the utmost advantage to your own nation, and to our other allies; but chiefly," said he, "to Gadatas here, who has taken it, and delivered it up to us." "Then," said the Hyrcanian, "when the Cadusians, the Sacians, and my countrymen are come, shall we call in Gadatas also, that all of us, whom it concerns, may consult in common how we may use the fortress to the best advantage?" This



proposal Cyrus applauded, and, when all that were concerned about the fortress were met, they jointly determined that it should be kept by those who had an interest in its being friendly to them, that it might be a place of defence to cover them, and a bulwark against the Assyrians.

When this enterprise was concluded, the Cadusians engaged with more zeal, and in greater numbers, in the service, as well as the Sacians and Hyrcanians. Hence there was collected a force of Cadusians, consisting of twenty thousand peltasts and four thousand cavalry; and of Sacians, consisting of ten thousand archers on foot, and two thousand on horseback; while the Hyrcanians sent all the infantry that they could, and made up their cavalry to the number of two thousand; for most of their cavalry had before been left at home, because both the Cadusians and Sacians were enemies to the Assyrians. During the whole time that Cyrus lay employed in making regulations about the fortress, many of the Assyrians, in those parts, were bringing horses, and many were bringing arms, being now afraid of all their neighbours.<sup>3</sup>

Soon after, Gadatas came to Cyrus, and acquainted him, that there were messengers come to tell him, that the Assyrian king, when he

<sup>3</sup> The Sacians, Cadusians, and Hyrcanians, against whom the fortress had previously served them as a defence.

heard of the affair of the fortress, was extremely incensed, and began to make preparations to invade his territory. "If, therefore, you would let me go, Cyrus," said he, "I would endeavour to save my places of strength; of the rest there is less account to be taken." Cyrus then said, "If you set out now, when shall you be at home?" Gadatas replied, "I shall sup in my own territory the third day." "And do you think," said he, "that you will find the Assyrian already there?" "I know very well," said he, "that I shall; for he will make haste, while he still thinks you at a great distance." "And in how many days," inquired Cyrus, "could I march thither with the army?" To this Gadatas answered, "You have a very great army, my sovereign, and would not be able to reach my residence in less than six or seven days." "Go, then," said Cyrus, "as soon as you can, and I will march after with all possible despatch."

Gadatas then took his departure, and Cyrus called together all the officers of his allies (and there seem now to have been present many men of merit and valour), and addressed them to this effect: "Friends and allies, Gadatas has done such services for us, as we all judge to be of great value, and has done so before receiving the least benefit whatever at our hands. The Assyrian king is now said to have invaded his

territory, and both intends, it is evident, to take vengeance on him, because he thinks that he has been greatly injured by him, and also, perhaps, considers, that if those who revolt to us receive no harm from him, and those who continue on his side are destroyed by us, it is probable that in a short time nobody will remain with him; therefore, my friends, we shall act but honourably, I think, if we afford zealous assistance to Gadatas, a man who has been our benefactor; we shall at the same time act justly by discharging a debt of gratitude; and we shall, in my opinion, do what will be for our own advantage; for if we make it apparent to all men, that we endeavour to surpass those who injure us in returning injury, and exceed our benefactors in doing them service, it is likely that, through such conduct, many will be willing to be friends to us, and nobody will desire to be our enemy; but if we appear neglectful of Gadatas, with what arguments, in the name of the gods, shall we persuade others to do us kindnesses? how shall we dare to commend ourselves; and how will any of us be able to look Gadatas in the face, if we are outdone by him in good offices, we, who are so many, by him who is but one, and one in such circumstances?"

Thus spoke Cyrus, and they all earnestly expressed their assent to what he proposed. "Proceed, then," said he, "since my proposal pleases



you. Let us each leave, with the carriages and beasts of burden, all those that are fittest to travel with them, and let Gobryas command and conduct them; for he is acquainted with the roads, and well qualified in other respects; and let us march forward ourselves with the best of our horses and men, taking provisions with us for three days; and the more lightly and frugally we furnish ourselves, the more pleasantly shall we dine, sup, and sleep on the succeeding days. Let us order our march in the following manner: You, Chrysantas, in the first place, lead on those armed with corselets (since the way is level and open), and let each century march in single file, keeping all the centurions in front; for, by keeping compact order, we shall march with greater despatch and greater safety. I desire those armed with corselets to lead, for this reason, that they are the heaviest part of the army; and, when the heaviest lead the way, the troops that march more expeditiously must all follow them with ease; but when the lighter troops lead, especially in the night, it is not at all wonderful that the forces become separated; for the body that is at the head runs off from the rest. Next after these," continued he, "let Artabazus lead the Persian peltasts and archers; next to these, let Andamylas the Mede lead the Median infantry; next to these, Embas the Armenian infantry; next to

these, Artuchas the Hyrcanians; next to these, Thambradas the Sacian infantry; next to these, Datamas the Cadusians. Let all these proceed with their centurions in front, and their peltasts on the right, and their archers on the left of their own oblong bodies; for, by marching in this manner, they will be the more ready for service. Behind these, let the baggage-bearers of the whole army follow; let their officers look to them all, that they have everything packed up before they sleep, and that they attend early in the morning in their appointed places, and follow in proper order. Next after the baggage-carriers, let Madatas the Persian bring up the Persian cavalry, and let him also keep the equestrian centurions in front; and let each centurion lead his century in single file, in the same manner as the officers of the foot. Next to these, let Rambacas the Mede lead his cavalry in the same manner; next to these, you, Tigranes, bring up your own cavalry; and the rest of the cavalry officers the bodies of cavalry with which each joined us. After these, let the Sacians follow, and let the Cadusians, as they came in to us the last, bring up the rear of the whole army; you, Alceunas, who command them, take care on the present occasion to be in the rear of all, and suffer none to fall behind your horse. And you, commanders, and all of you that are wise, take care to march in

silence; for it is by means of the ears, rather than the eyes, that you must observe and manage everything during the night; and to be thrown into disorder in the night is of much worse consequence than in the day, and more difficult to be remedied. Silence must therefore be maintained and order preserved. And the night-watches, when you are to rise and march in the night, you must make as short and as numerous as is possible, that long watching on the night-guard may not incapacitate any one for marching; and when the time comes for setting forward, the signal is to be given with the horn. And be ready, all of you, on the road to Babylon, each furnished with everything necessary; and let those in advance from time to time exhort those in the rear to follow."

They then went off to their tents, and, on their way, observed among themselves how retentive a memory Cyrus had, and how, as he gave his orders to those to whom he assigned their places, he addressed each of them by name. This Cyrus was enabled to do by giving his attention to it; for he thought it very strange, if, while artificers know the names of their tools, each in his own art, and a physician knows the names of all the instruments and medicines that he uses, a general should be so foolish as not to know the names of the commanders under him, whom he must necessarily use as his instru-



ments whenever he wishes to seize on any post, to keep on guard, to encourage his men, or to strike terror into the enemy; and when he desired to do honour to any one, he thought it became him to address him by name. He was of opinion, too, that those who thought themselves known to their commander, would thus be more eager to be seen performing some honourable action, and more anxious to abstain from doing anything that was disgraceful. He thought it very foolish also, when a person wished anything to be done, for him to give orders as some masters give theirs in their families, "Let somebody go for water, let somebody cleave the wood;" for when orders were given in such a manner, all the servants seemed to him to look one at another, and no one to execute what was ordered; and while all appeared to be in fault, yet no one was ashamed or afraid on account of his culpability, because he shared the blame equally with several others. For these reasons, he named every one when he gave his orders. Such was Cyrus's judgment on this point.

The soldiers, having taken their suppers, arranged the watches, and packed up everything that was necessary, went to rest. When it was midnight, the signal was given with the horn; and Cyrus, having told Chrysantas that he would wait in the road in advance of the army,

rode off, taking his attendants with him. In a short time after, Chrysantas came up at the head of those that were armed with corselets. Cyrus, assigning him guides, ordered him to march gently on till a messenger came to him, as the troops were not yet all upon the march; he himself, standing by the way-side, sped forward, in order, those that came up, and sent to hurry on such as were dilatory. When they were all in motion, he despatched horsemen to Chrysantas, to tell him, that all were now upon the march: "Lead on, therefore," said he, "at a quicker pace;" and, riding forward himself to the front, he observed, at leisure, the several divisions, and to such as he saw marching orderly and silently, he rode up, and inquired who they were, and when he was informed, commended them; but if he perceived any of them disorderly, he inquired into the cause, and endeavoured to put a stop to the confusion.

One particular only, in his precautions for the night, has been omitted; which is, that, in advance of the whole army, he sent a small body of light-armed foot, who were kept in sight by Chrysantas, and kept him in their sight;<sup>4</sup> so that, listening attentively, or getting notice of things, if they could, by any other means, they might communicate to him whatever the occasion seemed to require. There was

<sup>4</sup> It has been suggested that it must have been moon-light.

a captain over them, who kept them in order, and notified what was worthy of notice; what was not so, he gave no disturbance by telling. Thus they proceeded during the night.

When it was day, Cyrus left the Cadusian horse with the Cadusian foot, because they marched in the rear, in order that they might not march uncovered by horse. But the rest of the cavalry he ordered to advance to the front, because the enemy were before them; in order that, if any force opposed him, he might meet it with his troops in battle-array, and come to an engagement, and, if any party should be seen fleeing, he might pursue with the utmost expedition. He had always ready, in order, both those that were to pursue, and those that were to remain by him; but the general order of the whole he never suffered to be broken. This was the order in which Cyrus led his army. He himself was not always in the same place, but, riding about, sometimes to one part and sometimes to another, inspected the whole, and, if they had need of any directions, took care to give them. Thus did Cyrus's forces pursue their march.

IV.—A certain officer of Gadatas's troop of cavalry, one of the chief men, when he saw Gadatas revolt from the Assyrian, had conceived the notion, that if Gadatas should meet with



any ill-fortune, he himself might obtain from the Assyrian king all that belonged to him. He accordingly sent one of those whom he trusted most to the king of Assyria; and ordered the messenger, if he found the Assyrian army already in Gadatas's territory, to tell the king, that, if he would lay an ambuscade, he might take Gadatas and all that were with him. He directed him also to state what force Gadatas had, and to say that Cyrus was not accompanying him; and he told him the road that he intended to take. Moreover, in order to be better trusted, he sent orders to his own people to deliver up to the Assyrian king a fort of which he had possession, in the territory of Gadatas, and all that was in it; and he said that he would come himself, after he had, if he could, put Gadatas to death, but if this should be impracticable, at least to continue with the king of Assyria for the future. When the person intrusted with this commission, having ridden with all possible speed, was come to the Assyrian king, and had made known the object with which he came, the king, on hearing it, at once took possession of the fort, and placed himself in ambush, with a great number of cavalry and chariots, in some villages that lay very close together. Gadatas, when he came near these villages, sent forward some scouts to explore them. The Assyrian king, when he perceived the scouts approach-

ing, ordered two or three chariots and a few horse to quit their post, and betake themselves to flight, as being terrified from being but few. The scouts, as soon as they saw this, went on themselves in pursuit, and made signals to Gadatas; who, being thus deceived, pursued with all speed. The Assyrians, when they thought Gadatas near enough to be taken, started up from their ambuscade. Gadatas and his party, seeing their approach, took, as was natural, to flight; and the others, as was natural, pursued; when the contriver of the plot against Gadatas struck at him, and though he failed in inflicting a mortal injury, hit him upon the shoulder, and wounded him; and, having done this, he made off to join the pursuers. When it was known who he was, he urged on his horse with zeal, in company with the Assyrians, and continued the pursuit with the king. Here those who had the slowest horses were of course overtaken by those who had the fleetest; and when all Gadatas's cavalry were hard pressed, from being exhausted with their previous march, they beheld Cyrus advancing with his army; and we may imagine that they made up to them with joy and pleasure, as if they were putting into a port after a storm.

Cyrus was at first surprised to see them, but when he understood what the matter was, he continued, during the time that the enemy were

riding up towards him, to lead his men forward in order; but when the enemy, finding how things were, turned and fled, Cyrus commanded those that were appointed for that purpose to pursue; while he himself followed with the rest of the troops, in such a manner as he thought most advantageous. Upon this occasion, several chariots were taken, some from the drivers falling off (partly in wheeling round, and partly in other ways), and some from being intercepted by the horse; and the pursuers killed a great number, and amongst them the man that wounded Gadatas. Of the Assyrian foot, that were besieging the fortress of Gadatas, some fled to the fort that had revolted from Gadatas, and some escaped to a large city that belonged to the Assyrian king, where also the Assyrian monarch himself, with his cavalry and chariots, took refuge.

Cyrus, having made an end of the pursuit, retreated into the territory of Gadatas, and after directing the proper persons to attend to the booty, proceeded at once to see how much Gadatas was suffering from his wound; but, as he was on his way, Gadatas met him with his wound already bound up. Cyrus, at sight of him, was greatly delighted, and said, "I was coming to you to see how you were." "And I, by the gods," said Gadatas, "was coming to gaze on you again, and to see what sort of per-



son you are to look upon, you who are possessed of such a soul; you who, neither having, I know, any need of me, nor having promised to do such services for me, nor having personally received any benefit whatever from me, have yet, because I was thought to have done some service to your friends, so zealously assisted me, that, as far as I myself was concerned, I had now perished, but, by your means, am saved. By the gods, Cyrus, if I were such as I once was, and were to have children, I do not know whether I could ever have a son so affectionate to me; for I know that not only many another son, but that this present king of the Assyrians particularly, has caused more affliction to his father than he can now cause to you."

To this address Cyrus replied, "Do you now wonder at me, Gadatas, and omit to notice a much greater wonder?" "What is that?" said Gadatas. "That so many Persians," rejoined Cyrus, "so many Medes, so many Hyrcanians, as well as all these Armenians, Sacians, and Cadusians, have been so earnest in your service." Gadatas then prayed, saying, "O Jupiter! may the gods bestow many blessings upon them, but most upon him who is the cause that they are such as they are! But that we may properly entertain those whom you commend, Cyrus, accept these presents of friendship, such as I am

able to tender you." He at the same time brought up supplies in great abundance, so that he who wished might sacrifice, and that the whole army might be entertained in a manner worthy of their noble acts and their great good fortune.

Meanwhile the Cadusian general still commanded in the rear, and had no share in the pursuit; but being desirous himself also to achieve something splendid, he made an excursion into the territory of Babylon, without communicating his intention, or saying anything of it to Cyrus. But the Assyrian, as he was going from that city of his to which he had fled, with his army in close array, fell in with the cavalry of the Cadusian, which were then dispersed; and, as soon as he found that they were the Cadusians alone, attacked them, killed their commander and many others, captured numbers of their horses, and took from them the spoil that they were carrying off. Having then pursued as far as he thought safe, he turned back, and the Cadusians got safe to the camp, at least the foremost of them, towards evening.

Cyrus, as soon as he learned what had happened, went out to meet the Cadusians, and of such as he saw wounded, some he took and sent to Gadatas, that they might be attended to, and others he lodged in tents, and took care that they should have everything necessary, taking

some of the Persian Equals-in-honour to be his assistants; for, in such circumstances, men of good feeling willingly afford their aid; and he seemed evidently to be greatly afflicted; so that, while others were taking their suppers, when the time for it was come, Cyrus, continuing still with the attendants and surgeons, did not willingly leave any one neglected, but looked to all with his own eyes; or, if he could not attend to them himself, he was observed to send others to take care of them. Thus at length they went to rest.

But as soon as it was day, he summoned the officers of the other troops, and all the Cadusians, to assemble before him, and addressed them to this effect: "Friends and allies, the misfortune that has happened to us, is such as is incident to human nature; for I think it not at all wonderful, that, being men, we should be guilty of error. We ought, however, to reap some profit from the calamity, and to learn never to separate from our whole body a force inferior to that of the enemy. I do not say," continued he, "that we are never to march, where it may be necessary, with a detachment even yet less than that with which the Cadusian marched on this occasion; but if a general march away, after having concerted with another who is able to support him, though he may indeed be deceived, yet he that remains behind may, by



deceiving the enemy, turn them in another direction, away from those that have gone forth; he may procure safety to his friends by giving other employment to his enemies, and thus he that separates himself will not be wholly detached, but will continue dependent on the strength of the main body; but he that marches off without communicating whither he is going, is in the same condition as if he were making war alone. But," he proceeded, "if the gods please, we shall shortly have our revenge on the enemy for this infliction. As soon as you have breakfasted, I will lead you out to the spot where the affair took place, and we will both bury our dead, and, if the gods permit us, will let the enemy see men superior to themselves upon the very ground where they think they have triumphed, that they may not look with pleasure upon the place where they butchered our fellow-combatants. If they will not come out against us, we will burn their villages and lay waste their country, that they may not be delighted at contemplating what they themselves have done to us, but be afflicted at the sight of their own calamities. "Go, then," said he, "the rest of you, and take your breakfasts; and you, Cadusians, first go and choose a commander according to your custom, who, with the help of the gods, and in concert with us, may attend to you, in whatever way you may re-

quire; and when you have made your choice and taken your breakfast, send him you have chosen to me."

The Cadusians acted accordingly; and Cyrus, when he had led out the army, placed the commander chosen by the Cadusians in his station, and ordered him to lead on his force near to himself, "that we may, if we can," said he, "restore the courage of the men." They then marched on, and coming to the place, buried the Cadusians, and laid the country waste. Having done this, and supplied themselves with provisions from the enemy's country, they again retreated into the territory of Gadatas.

But, considering that those who had revolted to him, being in the neighbourhood of Babylon, would suffer severely, unless he himself was always at hand to protect them, he desired all those of the enemy that he dismissed, to tell the Assyrian, and he himself sent a herald to him with a message to the same effect, "that he was ready to let the labourers employed in the culture of the lands alone, and to do them no injury, if he, on the other hand, would allow the labourers of such as had revolted to himself, to pursue their work; though indeed," added he, "if you are able to hinder them, you will hinder but a few, for the land belonging to those that have revolted to me, is but little; while I should allow a large portion of land to be cultivated

for you; and, as to gathering in the crop, if the war continues, he that is superior in arms, I suppose, must gather it; but if there be peace, it is plain that it must be you; but if any of my people take up arms against you, or any of yours against me, we will both, if we can, take vengeance on them." Having delivered this message to the herald, he despatched him.

When the Assyrians heard of this proposal, they did all that they could to persuade the king to comply with it, and to leave as little of war remaining as was possible. The Assyrian monarch, accordingly, whether from being persuaded by his people, or from his own inclination, consented; and an agreement was made that there should be peace to those that were employed in labour, and war to those that should bear arms. Such an agreement did Cyrus make with respect to the labouring people; but the pastures of the cattle he ordered his own friends to settle, if they thought fit, within their own jurisdiction. Booty from the enemy they carried off wherever they could, in order that the service might be more agreeable to the allies; for the dangers were the same, even if they did not take provisions, and to subsist by plundering the enemy seemed to render the service the lighter.

When Cyrus was preparing to march away, Gadatas came to him, bringing and leading for-

*International  
law for war re- non  
combatants*



ward presents of all kinds, and in great abundance, as coming from large possessions, and a great many horses which he had taken from his own horsemen whom he mistrusted, in consequence of the late plot against him. When he drew near, he spoke thus: "I offer you these things, Cyrus, for the present; use them, if you have need of them; and consider," added he, "that everything else belonging to me is yours; for there neither is, nor will be, any one sprung from myself, to whom I may leave my possessions; but my whole family and name," said he, "must of necessity be extinguished with me when I die. And this misery I suffer, Cyrus," said he, "I swear to you by the gods, who see everything, and hear everything, without having said or done anything unjust or dishonourable." As he said this, he burst into tears at his wretched fate, and was unable to say more.

Cyrus, on hearing these words, pitied his unhappy lot, and replied to him thus: "The horses," said he, "I accept; for I shall do you service, by giving them to men better affected to you, it seems, than they who had them before; and shall soon make up the Persian cavalry to ten thousand men, a number which I have long desired; the rest of your property take away, and keep until you see me in such a condition as not to be outdone by you in mak-

ing presents; for, if you part from me, giving me more than you receive from me, I know not, by the gods, how it is possible for me not to feel ashamed."

To this address Gadatas answered, "I intrust them to you, for I see your disposition; and as to keeping them myself, consider whether I am fit to do so. While, indeed, we were friends with the Assyrian king, my father's possessions seemed to be the finest that could be; for, as they were near our metropolis, Babylon, we enjoyed all the advantages that we could possibly receive from a great city; and whatever annoyances we might suffer from the bustle, we escaped by retiring hither to our home; but now, since we are at enmity with him, it is plain that, when you are gone, both we ourselves, and all that belongs to us, will be assailed with machinations, and we shall, I conceive, live in the greatest uneasiness, having our enemies close upon us, and seeing them stronger than ourselves. Perhaps somebody may remark to me, And why did you not consider this before you revolted? Because, by reason of the injuries which I received, and the resentment which I felt, my mind, Cyrus, never dwelt upon the consideration of what was safest, but was always teeming with the thought, whether it would ever be in my power to take revenge upon this enemy both to the gods and men, who

passes his days in hating, not the man that may have done him an injury, but every one that he imagines to be superior to himself. This villain, therefore, will, I conceive, find supporters in such as are worse than himself. But if any one appear better than he, there will be no need for you, Cyrus (be assured), to fight against a good character, for the villain himself will be sufficient to carry on the work till he has cut off the man better than himself; and indeed, in annoying me, he will, I feel certain, even with the aid of bad characters, easily get the advantage."

Cyrus, on hearing this speech, was of opinion that Gadatas said what was worthy of attention; and he immediately replied, "Have we not, then, strengthened your fortresses with garrisons, that they may be safe for you to use them as you please, whenever you go thither? And are you not going on military service with us, that, if the gods continue as at present to support us he may be in fear of you, and not you of him? Whatever of yours you would like to see with you, and whomsoever you like to converse with, bring with you, and accompany us. You will be, as I expect, extremely useful to me, and I will endeavour to be useful to you in whatever respects I can."

Gadatas, hearing this, recovered himself, and said, "Should I be able to collect my baggage, and be ready before you march? for I should



like," added he, "to take my mother with me." "Yes, by Jupiter," said Cyrus, "you will be ready soon enough; for I will wait till you say that all is right." Gadatas accordingly went and strengthened the several fortresses, in concert with Cyrus, with garrisons, and prepared every thing to bring with him with which a large house might be handsomely furnished. He took with him, of those whom he trusted, such as he liked, and several of those also whom he distrusted, obliging some of them to take their wives, and some their sisters with them, that, by their means, he might hold them, as it were, bound. Cyrus immediately proceeded on his march, keeping Gadatas among those about him, as one able to give him information about the roads, springs of water, forage, and provisions, so that he might encamp in the best supplied places.

When, in the course of his march, he came in sight of the city of Babylon, and the way that he was going appeared to lead close under the walls, he called Gobryas and Gadatas, and asked whether there was any other way, that he might not lead the army quite so near to the wall. Gobryas then said, "My sovereign, there are many ways; but I thought that you desired to march as near to the city as possible, that you might show them that your army is now numerous and of fine appearance; because,

when you had a less force, you marched up to the walls, and they saw that we were not very numerous; and now, though the Assyrian king is in some degree prepared, as he said that he would be prepared, to give you battle, I know that, when he sees your strength, his preparations will appear to him to be very insufficient."

Cyrus, in reply, said, "You seem to me, Gobryas, to wonder that, when I came with a less army, I led it up to the very walls; but that now, when I have a greater force, I am unwilling to march near them: but do not be surprised at my determination," continued he, "for to lead up to a place, and to march by it, is not the same thing. All commanders advance upon a place with their men in such order that they may be most efficient for fighting; and those who are wise will retreat so as to go off in the safest manner, not in the quickest; but it is necessary to march past a place with the carriages extended in a line, and with the rest of the baggage in loose order; and all this line must be covered by armed troops, and the baggage-train must nowhere appear to the enemy unprotected by a force; and, marching in this manner, the strength of the army must of necessity be extended in a comparatively slender and weak line. If then the enemy should have a mind, from within the walls, to make an attack on any part in a close body, they would engage,

wherever they might make their assault, with much more effect than those upon the march; and to men that are marching in a train, succours must be brought from a great distance; but, to those that march out from within their walls, the distance is short to the nearest point of the enemy, either to retire to it or to return from it. But if we do not pass by at less distance than we have our line now extended on the march, they will see our numbers; and the whole multitude, by reason of the armed men covering it, appears terrible; and if, while we are marching thus, they attack us in any part, we shall, from seeing them from a distance, not be taken unprepared; but they will rather, my friends," said he, "forbear to attack us, when they would have to march a great distance from their walls, unless they think themselves, with their whole force, superior to our whole force; for retreat will be perilous to them."

As he said this, he appeared to those present to speak with judgment, and Gobryas led the way, as he directed him; and while the army was moving past the city, he always, as he drew off, made that part of it that was left in the rear the strongest.

When, marching on thus, he had arrived in the due number of days, at the confines of the Assyrians and Medes, from whence he had set out, as there were here three forts belonging to



the Assyrians, he attacked one, the weakest of them, and took it by force; the other two, Cyrus by terror, and Gadatas by persuasion, prevailed with the garrisons to surrender.

V.—When this matter was concluded, he sent to Cyaxares, and requested him, in a letter, to come to the army, that they might consult what use to make of the forts which they had taken; and that, after surveying the army, he might advise, with regard to the rest of their proceedings, what he thought proper for them to do next: “And tell him,” said he, “that if he wishes, I will come and encamp with him.” The messenger set out to deliver this message. Cyrus meanwhile gave orders to prepare the Assyrian king’s tent, which the Medes had chosen for Cyaxares, in the most handsome possible manner, not only with the other furniture which they had, but also to introduce into the women’s apartment the two women, and together with them the female musicians, that had been selected for Cyaxares. The men that received these orders executed them accordingly.

When he that was sent to Cyaxares had delivered his message, Cyaxares, after listening to him, decided that it was best for the army to remain on the borders; for the Persian troops, for whom Cyrus had sent, had arrived, and consisted of forty thousand archers and peltasts.

As he saw that these troops did hurt, in many ways, to the Median territory, he thought it would be better to get rid of them, rather than admit another multitude. The Persian general therefore, who had brought this force from Persia, having inquired of Cyaxares, according to the letter of Cyrus, whether he had need of the army, and Cyaxares telling him that he had none, proceeded that very day, as he heard that Cyrus was at hand, to conduct the army to him.

The next day Cyaxares set forward with the Median horse that remained with him; and Cyrus, as soon as he perceived him approaching, taking the Persian horse, who were now very numerous, with all the cavalry of the Medes, Armenians, and Hyrcanians, and such of the other allies as were best horsed and armed, rode to meet him, and to show Cyaxares his force.

Cyaxares, when he saw a great many splendid and excellent troops attending Cyrus, and but a small and comparatively mean retinue accompanying himself, felt it as something dishonourable; and great concern fell upon him. When Cyrus, alighting from his horse, came up to him, intending to kiss him according to custom, Cyaxares indeed also alighted, but turned from him, and did not kiss him, but burst openly into tears. Cyrus in consequence ordered all the rest that were there to retire and wait; while he himself, taking Cyaxares by the

right hand and conducting him out of the road under some palm-trees, ordered Median quilts to be spread for him, and, making him sit down, sat down himself by him, and spoke thus:

“O uncle,” said he, “tell me, I beg you, by the gods, for what reason you are angry with me, and what disagreeable thing you have seen, that you take thus amiss?” Cyaxares then answered, “It is, Cyrus,” said he, “that I, who am regarded as sprung from a long line of ancestors, as far back as the memory of man can reach, and from a father who was a king, and who am myself esteemed as a king, should see myself marching thus meanly and unbecomingly, and you, with my retinue, and other forces, appearing here in power and magnificence. I should think it hard to be placed in such circumstances even by enemies, and find it much harder (O Jupiter!) to be placed in them by those by whom I ought least of all to be thus treated; for I think that I could sink into the earth ten times more willingly than be seen with this poor attendance, and behold my own people thus slighting and scorning me; for I am not ignorant, not only that you are more powerful than myself, but that my own slaves meet me in greater power, and are in such a condition as to be rather able to do me harm, than liable to suffer at my hands.” As he said this, he was



still more overcome by his tears, so that he drew tears also into the eyes of Cyrus.

Cyrus, after pausing a little, said, "In this, Cyaxares, you neither say truly nor judge rightly, if you think that the Medes, by my presence, are put into such a condition as to have the power of doing you harm. Yet I do not wonder that you feel some displeasure. But whether you are justly or unjustly offended at the Medes, I shall forbear to consider; for I know you would be displeased to hear me make an apology for them. But for a ruler to show anger towards all his people at once, I regard as a grave error; for, by threatening a multitude, he must of necessity make that multitude his enemies, and, by exhibiting resentment at them all together, he must inspire them with unity of feeling against him. Hence it was, be assured, that I would not send these men away without me, being afraid lest something might happen through your anger that might afflict us all. This point, however, with the aid of the gods, may be comfortably settled while I am present. But that you should think yourself injured by me, is a circumstance at which I am greatly concerned, and shall feel sorry, if while I have been striving, as much as was in my power, to do all possible service to my friends, I am now thought to have done quite the contrary. But let us not thus charge one another

at random; let us, if possible, consider fairly what offence there is on my part. I have a proposal, then, to make to you, the fairest that can be between friends: if I shall appear to have done you any harm, I will confess that I have acted wrong; but if I appear neither to have done nor to have wished you any harm, will not you, on the other hand, confess that you have not been wronged by me?" "I must," said he, "of necessity." "But if I plainly appear to have done you service, and to have been zealous to do you all the service that I could, shall I not deserve commendation from you, rather than reproach?" "It is but just," said he. "Come then," said Cyrus, "and let us consider all the things that I have done, one by one; for thus it will appear, most evidently, which of them was good and which was ill. Let us begin from the commencement of this military command of mine, if this be, in your opinion, to go back far enough. When you perceived that a large force of your enemies was assembled, and that they were about to make an attempt upon you and upon your country, you sent immediately to the public council of Persia to solicit assistance, and to me individually to desire me to endeavour, if any Persians marched to join you, to come as their commander. Was not I, by you, persuaded to this undertaking, and did I not come, and bring you as many and as brave men as I

could?" "You did come," said he. "First, then," said he, "tell me whether in this proceeding you had to attribute to me any wrong towards you, or rather benefit?" "It is plain," said Cyaxares, "that in this particular I must impute benefit to you." "And then," said Cyrus, "when the enemies advanced, and we had to engage them, did you perceive that at that juncture I spared any pains, or shrunk from facing any danger?" "No, by Jove," said Cyaxares, "not in the least." "And when, with the assistance of the gods, the victory was ours, and the enemy retreated, I exhorted you that we should jointly pursue them, take joint revenge upon them, and, if anything honourable or beneficial should befall us, jointly share it; can you charge me in any of these points with any unreasonable regard for myself?" At this question Cyaxares was silent, and Cyrus again spoke thus: "But if it is more agreeable to you to be silent than to answer this question, tell me," said he, "whether you thought yourself injured, because, when you did not consider it safe to pursue, I did not allow you to share in the danger, but only desired you to send me some of your cavalry? For if I wronged you in making this request, especially after having devoted myself to you as an ally, let this fact be demonstrated by yourself." When Cyaxares kept silence at this inquiry also, "If you will not



reply to this," said Cyrus, "tell me then whether I did you any wrong, when you gave me for answer, that, as you saw the Medes indulging themselves in pleasure, you were unwilling to put a stop to it, and oblige them to run again into danger; and whether you think that I put any hardship upon you, when, forbearing from all resentment towards you, I again made you a request, than which I knew there was nothing more easy for you to grant to me, or more easy to be imposed on the Medes; for I merely asked you to allow any of them, that wished, to follow me; and when I had obtained this favour from you, I had effected nothing unless I could persuade them; I went therefore, and persuaded them, and those with whom I prevailed I took, and marched away with them with your permission. If you consider this to be deserving of blame, it is not blameless, it would appear, to take from you what you yourself grant. Thus, then, we set forward; and when we were out in the field what was done by us there that was not apparent? Was not the camp of the enemy taken? Were not many of those, that had advanced upon you, killed? and of the enemies that remained alive, were there not many despoiled of their arms, and many of their horses? The property of those that before plundered and ravaged yours, you now see your friends plundering and ravaging, and bringing some of

it to you, and some to those that are under your dominion. But, what is the most important and honourable of all, you see your own territory enlarged, and that of your enemies diminished; you see the fortresses of the enemy occupied by your own troops, and yours, that had been taken and annexed to the Assyrian dominion, now, on the contrary, yielded to you. Of these things whether any be evil, or whether any be not good, I know not how I can say that I desire to learn; but nothing hinders me from hearing; tell me accordingly what your opinion is concerning them."

Cyrus, having spoken thus, was silent. Cyaxares, in answer, said, "Indeed, Cyrus, I do not know how I can say that what you have done is ill, but be well assured," said he, "that these services of yours are of such a kind, that the more numerous they appear, the more they distress me. I should rather wish to enlarge your territory with my forces, than to see mine thus enlarged by yours; for these acts, to you that perform them, are glorious, but on me they seem in some degree to throw dishonour. Wealth, also, I feel that I should be better pleased to bestow upon you, than to receive it from you as you now offer it to me; for I see myself enriched by you with such gifts that I feel, as it were, made poorer; and if I were to see my subjects, in some degree, injured by

you, I believe that I should feel less concerned than I am now, when I see them receiving great benefits at your hands. If I appear to you to think unreasonably in this respect, do not contemplate these things with reference to me, but transfer them all to yourself, and then consider how they appear. For if any one should caress your dogs, which you keep to protect you and yours, and make them more familiar with himself than with you, would he please you by such attention? Or if this appear to you but a trifling matter, consider this: if any one should treat your servants, whom you have procured to guard and attend you, in such a manner, that they become more willing to be his servants than yours, would you think yourself obliged to him for his kindness? And again, with reference to a matter on which men most set their affections, and cherish with the deepest regard, if any one should pay such court to your wife, as to make her love him better than you, would he delight you with such a service? Far from it, I think," added he; "nay, I know that, in acting thus, he would do you the greatest of injuries. But that I may mention what is most applicable to my own case, if any one should pay such attention to the Persians that you have conducted hither, that they would become more willing to follow him than to follow you, would you think that man your friend? I



believe you would not, but would think him more your enemy, than if he killed great numbers of them. Or if any friend of yours, when you might tell him, in a friendly way, that he might take as much of what belonged to you as he pleased, should, on hearing this, go and take all that he could, and enrich himself with what belonged to you, while you would not have enough for moderate use, could you possibly think such a one an unexceptionable friend? Yet I seem now to have been treated by you, if not in the same, yet in a very similar, manner; for what you say is true; when I told you to take such of the troops as were willing to go, you went off with my whole force, and left me deserted; and now you bring me what you have captured with my own army; and you enlarge my territory with the aid of my own power; while I, having had no share in obtaining these advantages, seem to give myself up, like a woman, to receive favours; and you, in the eyes of others as well as my own subjects here, appear to be a man, and I to be unworthy to rule. Do you consider such acts as benefits, Cyrus? Be sure that if you had any concern for me, there is nothing of which you would be so careful not to rob me as my dignity and honour. What advantage is it to me, to have my land extended and myself brought into contempt? For I do not hold my dominion over

the Medes by being in reality superior to them all, but rather from their estimation that we<sup>5</sup> are, in every way, superior to themselves."

Cyrus, interposing while Cyaxares was yet speaking, said, "I entreat you, uncle, by all the gods, if I ever before gratified you in anything, gratify me now in what I shall ask of you. Desist from censuring me for the present, and when you have had experience of us, how we stand affected towards you, then, if what has been done by me appears to have been done for your service, when I salute you, salute me in return, and regard me as having been of advantage to you; but if otherwise, then blame me." "Perhaps, indeed," said Cyaxares, "you speak reasonably; and I will do so." "Well then," said Cyrus, "shall I kiss you?" "If you please," said he. "And you will not turn from me, as you did just now?" "I will not," said he. Cyrus then kissed him.

As soon as the Medes and Persians, and the rest, (for they were all anxious to see what would be the issue of the affair), saw this termination to the conference, they were gratified and delighted.

Cyaxares and Cyrus, mounting their horses, then rode on before; the Medes followed Cyaxares, (for Cyrus gave them a signal to do so,)

<sup>5</sup> Cyaxares means himself and his ancestors. He had previously used the singular number.

and the Persians followed Cyrus; and after these went the rest. When they came to the camp, and had lodged Cyaxares in the tent that was furnished for him, those to whom orders had been given prepared everything suitable for him. During the time that Cyaxares was disengaged, before supper, the Medes went in to him, some of themselves, but most of them at the direction of Cyrus, and brought him presents; one a beautiful cup-bearer, another an excellent cook, another a baker, another a musician; some brought him cups, and others fine raiment; and almost every one presented him with something out of what they had taken; so that Cyaxares changed his opinion, and no longer thought either that Cyrus had alienated them from him, or that the Medes themselves were disposed to pay him less attention than before.

When it was time for supper, Cyaxares invited Cyrus, and desired that, since he had not seen him for some time, he would sup with him; but Cyrus said, "Do not require me to do so, Cyaxares. Do you not observe, that all those that are here with us, attend here at our summons? I should not, therefore, act properly, if I were to appear to neglect them, and mind my own pleasure. When soldiers think themselves neglected, the best of them become much more despondent, and the worst of them much



more presuming. But you, especially after having come a long journey, take your supper at once; and if people come to pay their respects to you, receive them kindly, and entertain them well, that they may feel confidence in you. I will go and attend to the business to which I allude. To-morrow," added he, "in the morning, all the proper persons shall attend here at your doors, that we may all consult together, how we are to proceed henceforward; and you, being present, will propose for our consideration, whether it will be proper to continue the war, or whether the time is come for disbanding the army."

Cyaxares then went to supper; and Cyrus, assembling such of his friends as were best able to judge, and to act with him if it should be necessary, addressed them to this effect: "What we at first prayed for, my friends, is now, by the favour of the gods, in our hands; for, wherever we march, we are masters of the country; we see our enemies weakened, and ourselves increased in numbers and strength; and if they, who have now joined us as allies, be still willing to continue with us, we shall be much more likely to command success, whether we have occasion to act by force, or find it advisable to proceed by persuasion; that it may be the resolution of as many of our allies as possible, therefore, to stay with us, is not more my con-

cern to effect than yours. But as, when fighting is necessary, he that overcomes the greatest number is thought to be the most valorous; so, when it is necessary to use persuasion, he that makes the greatest number to be of his opinion, may justly be esteemed the most eloquent and serviceable. Do not, however, enter on that business, as if you expected to give us a specimen of the sort of speech that you use to each individual, but exert such influence that those who are persuaded by each of you may distinguish themselves by what they do. You, then, attend to these matters; and I will try to make it my care that the soldiers, while they deliberate about continuing the war, may be supplied, as far as I can, with everything necessary."

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*Darius*

*From a Rare Etching of the Sixteenth Century,  
In the Vatican Library, Rome.*





Cognitâ fraude Oropastis magi ex defectu au-  
 rium, cog. occiso a septem principibus regni, hinnitus  
 equi, cui insidebat, ad solium evocatus fuit; et Ator-  
 sam Cyri filiam duxit uxorem, ut sibi iure san-  
 guinis firmaret imperium. Intermissum  
 Templi, et Urbis ædificiū, reperto in Ecbaeta-  
 nis Cyri edicto prosequi mandavit anno 2<sup>o</sup> regni,  
 reprehendentibus Ageo, et Zacchariâ fœcordiam  
 populi in eo ædificando. Rebëllis egyptios coer-  
 cuit, et Xerxem iam sibi regi natum Arbabazano primo  
 genito excluso, successorem imperio declaravit.

## THE CYROPÆDIA

### BOOK VI

**H**AVING passed the day in this manner, and taken their suppers, they went to rest. The next day, in the morning, all the allies came to the tent-door of Cyaxares; and, while Cyaxares, who had heard that there was a great number of people at his door, was dressing, Cyrus's friends presented to him several people, who entreated him to stay, some introducing Cadusians, some Hyrcanians, some Sacians, and one Gobryas; and Hystaspes presented the eunuch Gadatas, who also solicited Cyrus to remain. Cyrus, who knew before that Gadatas had been almost killed with fear lest the army should be disbanded, laughed, and said, "It is evident, Gadatas, that you have been persuaded by Hystaspes here to entertain such feelings as you express." But Gadatas, lifting up his hands to heaven, vowed that indeed he was not persuaded by Hystaspes to entertain such feelings; "but I know," said he, "that if you depart, my affairs will fall utterly to ruin. It was on this account," added he, "that I had some talk with Hystaspes, and asked him whether he knew what your intention

was concerning the dismissal of the army." Cyrus then said, "I have therefore, it appears, brought an unjust charge against Hystaspes." "Unjust indeed, Cyrus, by Jupiter," exclaimed Hystaspes, "for I merely told Gadatas that it would be impossible for you to continue in the field, as your father had sent for you." "What do you say?" said Cyrus, "Durst you spread abroad such an assertion, whether I would or not?" "Yes, indeed," said he; "for I see that you are exceedingly desirous to go about among the Persians as an object to be gazed upon, and to exhibit to your father how you performed everything." Then Cyrus said, "And are not you desirous to go home?" "No, by Jove," said Hystaspes, "nor will I go, but stay and command here, till I make our friend Gadatas master of the Assyrian king." Thus did they jest, with a mixture of seriousness, one with another.

Cyaxares then came forth in a magnificent dress, and seated himself on a Median throne. When all had assembled whose presence was required, and silence was made, Cyaxares spoke thus: "Friends and allies, since I am present, and am older than Cyrus, it is perhaps proper for me to open the council. It appears then to me, that it is now time to deliberate, in the first place, whether it be proper to proceed with the war, or at once to disband the army. Let any

*freedom of speech*



one who wishes, therefore," added he, "say what he thinks on this subject." Upon this the Hyrcanian first spoke: "Friends and allies, I do not know whether there is any need of words, where facts themselves declare what is best to be done; for we all know that, by keeping together, we do more harm to our enemies than we suffer from them; but, when we were asunder, they treated us as was most agreeable to them, and most grievous to us." After him the Cadusian general said, "Why should we speak of separating and going each of us to our homes, when it is not for our interest to separate, as it appears, even while we continue in the field; we ourselves, at least, attempted an enterprise, apart from your main body, and paid the penalty of it, as you all know." After him, Artabazus, he who had once said that he was related to Cyrus, spoke thus: "I differ in opinion, Cyaxares, from those who have already spoken, so far as this: they say, that we ought to continue on military service, remaining here; but I say that it was when I was at home that I was on military service; for I had often to go out with succour, when our property was driven off; I had frequently trouble with regard to our fortresses, as being liable to attacks; and I was continually in fear, and kept myself on guard; and all this I did at my own expense. But now I am in possession of the fortresses of the en-

emy; I am in no fear of them; I feast on what belongs to them, and I drink at the enemy's cost; since, then, there is war for me at home, and feasting here, it does not seem advisable to me to disband this common force." After him Gobryas said, "Friends and allies, thus far<sup>1</sup> I applaud the faith of Cyrus; for he has been false in nothing that he promised; but, if he quit the country, it is plain that the Assyrian will be at rest, and not suffer the punishment due to him for the injuries which he has endeavoured to do you, and which he has in fact done to me; and I, in my turn, shall again suffer punishment at his hands for having become a friend to you."

After all these Cyrus spoke. "Nor has it escaped my consideration, friends," said he, "that, if we disband the army, our own power will be diminished, and that of the enemy will be again increased; for as many of them as have had their arms taken from them, will quickly make others; they that have lost their horses, will soon procure fresh ones; in the room of the men that have been killed, others will grow up and succeed; so that it will not be at all wonderful if they become able to give us trouble again very soon. Why then did I request Cyaxares to

<sup>1</sup> Gobryas hints that Cyrus will not have fully performed his promise to avenge the death of his son, if he should now break off the war and return to Persia.

propose a debate respecting the separation of the army? It was, you may be certain, because I was in fear for the future; for I know that there are adversaries advancing upon us, that we shall not be able, if we keep the field as at present, to resist. The winter is coming on, and if we have tents for ourselves, we have none, by Jove, either for our horses, or for our attendants, or for the common soldiers; and, without these, we shall be unable to prosecute the war. The provisions, wherever we have gone, have been consumed by us, and where we have not been, the enemy have carried them off, for fear of us, to their fortresses, so that they have them, and we are unable to procure them. Which of us then is so brave or so strong, that he can carry on war, while struggling at the same time with hunger and cold? If, therefore, we have a prospect of continuing the war thus, I say that we ought rather to disband the army of our own accord, than be dispersed, against our will, by irremediable difficulties. But, if we resolve still to persevere with the war, I say that we ought to take the following course: We ought to endeavour, as soon as possible, to take from the enemy as many of their strong places as we can, and to erect as many places of strength as we can for ourselves; for, if this be done, that side will have provisions in the greatest abundance, who can secure and lay up the



most, and the side that is inferior in strength will be besieged. But now we are in a similar case with men who are sailing on the ocean; for they sail forward perpetually, but do not leave the part over which they have sailed, at all more their own, than that over which they have not sailed; but, if we get fortresses, they will alienate the territory from the enemy, and everything on our side will be calm and undisturbed. As for what some of you may perhaps fear, in case you should be placed in garrisons at a distance from your territory, you need be apprehensive of nothing of the kind; for we, since we are even now away from our own country, will take upon us to guard those parts of yours that are the nearest to the enemy; and you may occupy the parts of Assyria bordering on yourselves, and cultivate them; for, if we can guard and preserve those parts that are near the enemy, you, who occupy the parts at a distance from them, will live in much peace; since they will not, I should think, neglect dangers that are close upon them, and form designs against you that are far off?"

When these suggestions were made, all the rest, as well as Cyaxares, stood up and declared that they would heartily join in executing them. Gadatas and Gobryas said, that if the allies would give them leave, they would each build a fortress which might be in the interest of the

allies. Cyrus, therefore, when he saw them all so zealous to do what he had proposed, said in conclusion, "If then we resolve to execute what we say ought to be done, we must as soon as possible procure machines to demolish the strong-holds of the enemy, and builders to erect fortresses of our own." Accordingly Cyaxares promised to construct and supply one machine, Gadatas and Gobryas another, and Tigranes another; and Cyrus said that he would endeavour to furnish two. When these matters were settled, they procured artificers to make the machines, and each prepared the materials necessary for their fabric, and men, such as seemed the best qualified for the office, were appointed to have the charge of the work.

*These machines must have been of great magnitude.*

Cyrus, when he found that some time would be occupied in these affairs, encamped the army in such a situation as he thought most healthy and most accessible for everything necessary to be brought to it. He also did whatever was requisite for making it strong, that those who remained there might always be in safety, though he himself might encamp at a distance with the main body of the army. Having inquired likewise of those whom he supposed to be best acquainted with the country, from what parts of it the army might be best supplied, he led out the troops from time to time in foraging parties, both that he might procure the greatest

possible abundance of provisions for the army, that his men, inured to labour by these excursions, might gain health and vigour, and that, by marching, they might preserve in their memories the order that they were to keep. Such were the occupations in which Cyrus employed himself.

Deserters now came from Babylon, with some prisoners, who brought word that the Assyrian king was gone towards Lydia, carrying with him many talents of gold and silver, and other treasures, and rich furniture of all kinds. The most part of the soldiery supposed that he was conveying his treasures out of the way for fear; but Cyrus, feeling convinced that he was gone to collect, if he could, a force against him, made vigorous preparations for opposition, in the belief that he should still have to fight. He accordingly made up the complement of Persian cavalry, getting some horses from the prisoners, and some from his friends; for such gifts he accepted from all, refusing nothing, neither a fine weapon, nor a steed, if any person presented him with one. Chariots, likewise, he fitted up, both out of those that were taken, and by whatever other means he could.

The Trojan way<sup>2</sup> of managing chariots, that

<sup>2</sup> The Trojan chariots carried two men, a driver and a combatant; the latter, when he had to fight, leaped down from the



was practised of old, and the way of managing them that is yet in use amongst the Cyrenæans, he abolished; for formerly the people of Media, Syria, and Arabia, and all those of Asia,<sup>3</sup> used the same method in managing their chariots which the Cyrenæans now use; as he was of opinion, that when the bravest of the men were mounted upon chariots, men who naturally constituted the chief strength of the army, they acted the part only of skirmishers at a distance, and contributed nothing of any importance to the attainment of victory. For three hundred chariots take three hundred combatants, and these chariots require twelve hundred horses; and their drivers, doubtless, are men in whom these brave warriors can best confide, and there are three hundred others, who do the enemy not the least harm. This mode of managing chariots therefore he abolished; and in place of it provided a sort of war chariot, with wheels of great strength, so as not to be easily broken, and with long axletrees, as anything broad is less liable to be overturned. The seat for the drivers he made like a turret, of strong pieces of timber; the height of these seats was up to the elbows of the drivers, so that the horses could be managed

vehicle, and fought on the ground. The Cyrenæan chariots were manned in the same way; but the fighting men remained in them in the field.

<sup>3</sup> Used in a restricted sense, for a part of Asia.

by reaching over the seats; and he covered the drivers, all but their eyes, with complete armour. To the axletrees, on each side of the wheels, he fixed steel scythes, of about two cubits in length; and others below, under the axletree, pointing to the ground; intending with these chariots to break through the line of the enemy. As Cyrus, at that time, contrived these chariots, so, to this day, they use them in the king's territory. He had likewise camels in great number, some collected from his friends, and others taken from the enemy, all assembled together. Thus were these matters arranged.

Being desirous to send a spy into Lydia, and to learn what the Assyrian king was doing, he conceived that Araspes, who had the beautiful woman under his care, was a proper person to go upon that enterprise; for, with Araspes, things had taken a turn as follows. Being seized with a strong affection for the woman, he was led to make proposals to her concerning a union. But she repulsed him, and continued faithful to her husband, though he was absent; for she loved him very much; yet she did not accuse Araspes to Cyrus, being unwilling to make a quarrel between friends. But when Araspes, thinking that he would thus further the attainment of what he desired, threatened that if she would not submit willingly, she should do so against her will, she, from dread

of violence, concealed the matter no longer, but sent a eunuch to Cyrus, with orders to tell him everything. Cyrus, when he heard it, laughing at him who had said that he was above the power of love, sent Artabazus with the eunuch, desiring him to tell Araspes, that he was to use no violence to such a woman; but that if he could prevail with her by persuasion, he would make no objection. But Artabazus, coming to Araspes, reproached him, calling the woman a deposit that had been trusted to him, and telling him of his impiety, injustice, and inability to control his passion; so that Araspes shed many tears for grief, sunk down with shame, and became almost dead with fear, lest he should suffer some penalty at the hands of Cyrus.

Cyrus, being informed of his distress, sent for him, and spoke to him by himself alone. "I find, Araspes," said he, "that you are in fear of me, and very much ashamed. But lay aside these feelings, for I have heard that gods have been conquered by love; I know how much men, that have been accounted extremely wise, have suffered from love; and I laid it to my own charge, that if I associated with beautiful people, I should not have strength of mind enough to be insensible to them. And I am the cause of what has befallen you, for I shut you up with this irresistible object." Araspes said, in reply,



"You are in this matter too, Cyrus, as you are in others, mild, and disposed to forgive men's errors; but other men," added he, "overwhelm me with grief; for, since the rumour of my misfortune has gone abroad, my enemies exult over me, and my friends come to me, and advise me to keep myself out of the way, lest I suffer some severity at your hands, as having done you great wrong."

Cyrus then said, "Know, therefore, Araspes, that, by means of this very report, it is in your power to oblige me greatly, and to do very much service to our allies." "Would that it might happen," said Araspes, "that I might again have an opportunity of being of service to you!" "If, then," said Cyrus, "you would pretend to flee from me, and go over to the enemy, I think that you would be trusted by them." "I know, by Jove," said Araspes, "that I should give occasion to have it said even by my friends that I fled from you." "You might then return to us," said Cyrus, "with a knowledge of the enemy's affairs; for I believe that, from giving credit to you, they would make you a sharer in their debates and counsels, so that nothing of what we desire to know would be concealed from you." "I will go then," said he, "at once; for the supposition that I have made my escape from you, as being about to receive punishment at your hands,

will be one of the things that will gain me credit."

"Will you be able, then," said Cyrus, "to leave the beautiful Panthea?" "Yes, Cyrus," said he, "for I have plainly two souls; I have now learned this point of philosophy by the aid of that wicked sophist Love; for a single soul cannot be good and bad at the same time, or affect, at the same time, both noble actions and dishonourable ones, or wish and not wish the same things at the same time; but it is plain that there are two souls,<sup>4</sup> and, when the good one prevails, noble acts are done; when the ill one prevails, dishonourable acts are attempted. But the good one, since it has found a supporter in you, has now the superiority, and to a very great degree." "If you think it proper, then, to go," said Cyrus, "you must, in order to gain the greater credit with the enemy, act in this manner: you must tell them the state of our affairs, and tell it so that what is said by you may be the greatest possible discouragement to what they intend to do; and it would be some discouragement if you were to say, that we are preparing to effect an entrance at some point of their territory; for, when they hear this, they will be less likely to assemble their whole force together, every one being in fear for what he

<sup>4</sup> This conception of a dual entity was commonly held by several of the philosophers of the time.

has at home. And stay with them," he concluded, "as long as you can; for what they do when they are nearest to us, will be the most for our purpose to know; and advise them, also, to form themselves into such order as may be thought the best; for, when you come away, and are supposed to have a knowledge of their order, they will be under a necessity to adhere to that order, as they will be afraid of making a change in it; or, if they do make a change, they will instantly throw themselves into confusion."

Araspes, accordingly, taking with him such of his adherents as he most trusted, and making such communications to certain persons as he thought would conduce to the success of his enterprise, took his departure.

Panthea, as soon as she heard that Araspes was gone, sent to Cyrus, and said, "Be not afflicted, Cyrus, that Araspes is gone over to the enemy; for, if you will allow me to send to my husband, I engage that there will come to you a much more faithful friend than Araspes. I know that he will join you with all the force that he can bring; for the father of the king now reigning was his friend, but the present king attempted once to part my husband and myself from each other; and, regarding him therefore as an insolent tyrant, I know that he would joyfully revolt from him to such a man as you are." Cyrus, hearing these assurances,



desired her to send to her husband. She accordingly sent; and when Abradatas recognised the tokens brought from his wife, and learned how other matters stood, he marched joyfully away to join Cyrus, having with him about a thousand horse. When he came up to the Persian sentinels, he sent to Cyrus to let him know who he was. Cyrus immediately gave orders to conduct him to his wife.

When Abradatas and his wife saw each other, they mutually embraced, as may be supposed, at a meeting so unexpected. Panthea then told him of the integrity and discretion of Cyrus, and of his compassion towards her. Abradatas, on hearing this, said, "And how can I act, Panthea, so as to show my gratitude to Cyrus for you and for myself?" "How else," said Panthea, "but by endeavouring to behave towards him as he has behaved towards you?" Upon this, Abradatas went to Cyrus, and, as soon as he saw him, taking him by the right hand, he said, "In return for the benefits which you have bestowed upon us, Cyrus, I can say nothing more than that I give myself to you as a friend, a servant, and an ally; and in whatever enterprises I see you engage, I will endeavour to be as efficient a supporter to you in them as I can." Cyrus said, "I accept your kindness, and take leave of you for the present, that you may go to supper with your wife; at some other

time, you must be my guest in my tent, together with your friends and mine."

Soon after, Abradatas, observing Cyrus engaged about the chariots armed with scythes, and about the horses and horsemen that were to be clothed in armour, endeavoured, out of his own body of horse, to fit up chariots, such as his were, to the number of a hundred; and he prepared to lead them, riding in a chariot himself. His own chariot he formed with four poles, and for eight horses; (his wife Panthea, out of what she had with her, made him a breast-plate of gold, and a golden head-piece, as well as arm-pieces;) and the horses of his chariot he equipped with brazen mail. In this manner did Abradatas occupy himself.

Cyrus, observing his chariot with four poles, conceived that it might be possible to make one with eight, so as to draw the lower story of the machines with eight yoke of oxen; this story, with its wheels, was about eighteen feet from the ground. Towers of this kind, following in the line of the army, seemed to him likely to be a great support to his own troops, and a great means of doing mischief to the body of the enemy. Upon these stories he made galleries and parapets; and upon each tower he mounted twenty men. When everything about the towers was settled for him, he made trial of their draught; and the eight yoke of oxen drew

a tower, and the men upon it, with more ease than each single yoke drew the common baggage weight; for the weight of baggage was about five and twenty talents<sup>5</sup> to each yoke; but the draught of a turret, with boards as thick as those of a tragic stage, and with twenty men and their arms, was but fifteen talents for each yoke. When he found that the draught was easy, he prepared to take these towers with the army, considering that to secure advantage in war was safe, just, and likely to lead to success.

II.—At this time there came an embassy from the Indian king, bringing presents, and stated that the Indian sent the following message: “I am pleased, Cyrus, that you have told me what you wanted; I am desirous to be your friend, and I send you presents; if you wish for anything else, send for it. Orders have been given to those who come from me to do whatever you desire of them.”

Cyrus, hearing this, said, “I desire then, that some of you, remaining here, where you have pitched your tents, may take care of the presents, and live as is most agreeable to you. But go forward, three of you, to the enemy, as if you came from the Indian king to treat of an

<sup>5</sup> Mr. Hussey, “Essay on Ancient Weights,” etc., p. 43, gives the Attic talent as nearly 57 lbs. avoirdupois.



alliance, and, informing yourselves of what they are saying and doing there, and bring me and the Indian monarch an account of it as soon as is possible. If you serve me well in this matter, I shall feel yet more obliged to you, than for your coming and bringing me presents; for spies that appear like men of mean condition, can neither learn nor communicate anything more than what every one knows; but such men as you are can often gain a knowledge of what is designed." The Indians heard this proposal with pleasure, and, after being entertained on the occasion by Cyrus, prepared their baggage and went off the next day, promising faithfully to learn as much as they could of the enemy's plans, and to return as soon as possible.

Cyrus made all other preparations for the war in a magnificent manner, as a man who was meditating no mean enterprise, and not only attended to what was approved by the allies, but also excited among his friends a mutual emulation that they might appear each as handsomely armed as possible, each most skilled in horsemanship, most expert in throwing the javelin, most skilful in the use of the bow, and most ready to endure fatigue. This he effected by leading them out to hunt, and rewarding such as were most meritorious in the several exercises. The officers that he observed most anxious that their men should excel, he animated by

praising them, and by gratifying them in every way that he could. Wherever he made a sacrifice, or solemnised a festival, he celebrated games on the occasion, in all the exercises that men practise with a view to war, and gave magnificent rewards to the conquerors; and great alacrity prevailed throughout the army.

Almost everything that Cyrus wished to take with him to the field was now completed, except the machines; for the Persian cavalry were made up to ten thousand; the chariots, armed with scythes, that he himself had equipped, were now a full hundred; those that Abradatas of Susa undertook to provide, like those of Cyrus, were also a complete hundred; and the Median chariots, which Cyrus had persuaded Cyaxares to alter from the Trojan and Libyan<sup>6</sup> form, were made up to another hundred. Men were also appointed for the camels; two archers to each. Most of the troops, too, felt in such spirits as if they were already quite victorious, and as if the power of the enemy was nothing.

While they were in this temper, the Indians, whom Cyrus had sent to get intelligence from the enemy, returned, and said that Cræsus had been chosen leader and commander of all the enemy's forces; that it had been determined by all the princes in their alliance that each should

<sup>6</sup> Libyan is the same as Cyrenæan, Cyrene being in Africa or Libya.

join the army with his whole force; that they should contribute large sums of money, and expend them in hiring such troops as they could, and in making presents to those to whom it was proper to make them; that a great number of Thracians, armed with short swords,<sup>7</sup> were already hired; that the Egyptians were under sail to join them, the number of whom, they said, amounted to a hundred and twenty thousand, armed with shields that reached down to their feet, and large spears, such as they use at this day, and small swords; they said that there was also a force of Cyprians; that all the Cilicians, the people of both Phrygias, the Lycaonians, Paphlagonians, Cappadocians, Arabians, Phœnicians, and Assyrians, with the prince of Babylon, had already arrived; that the Ionians, the Æolians, and all the Greek colonies in Asia, were obliged to attend Crœsus; that Crœsus had sent to Lacedæmon, to propose an alliance; that the army was assembled on the river Pactolus, and was about to advance to Thymbrara, where the place of assembly still is for all the barbarians of Lower Syria that are subject to the king; and that orders had been given to all, to bring thither provisions for sale. The prisoners gave nearly the same account; for Cyrus

<sup>7</sup> The Thracians, as well as the Sarmatians and the Getæ, fought with knives or short swords (*cultris*), which were attached to their sides. Some fought with javelins.



had contrived that some of his own men should be taken by the enemy, in order that he might learn something from them; and he sent out spies in the garb of slaves, pretending to be deserters.

When the army of Cyrus heard this news, every one, as was natural, was under concern; they went about more sedately than usual, and did not appear at all cheerful; they collected in groups, and all places were full of people, asking each other questions, and discoursing together concerning these matters.

As Cyrus perceived that alarm was spreading through the army, he called together the commanders of the several bodies, with all those from whose dejection any harm might arise, or whose cheerfulness might be of good effect, and gave notice to the inferior officers, that if any others of the soldiers wished to come and hear his speech, they should not hinder them. When they were assembled, he said:

“Friends and allies, I have called you together, because I observed that, since these accounts have come from the enemy, some of you appear like men that are afraid: for if any of you are really afraid because the enemy are assembling, it appears to me extremely surprising; and also, that since we are at this time collected in much greater force than when we defeated them, and, with the help of the gods,

are now better equipped than before, you, seeing this to be the case, are not in the highest spirits. In the name of the gods!" continued he, "how would you, who are afraid now, have felt, if people had brought you word that such an array as is now on our side was advancing against us, and you had heard, first of all, that they who had defeated us before were coming upon us again, thinking of the victory which they then obtained; then, that they, who at that time repelled the discharge of missiles from the archers and javelin-men, were now coming, with multitudes more like themselves; next, that as these heavy-armed men, at that time, conquered our foot, so, now, their cavalry, fully equipped, were advancing against our horse, and that, laying aside bows and javelins, each of them, wielding one strong lance, was resolved to ride up to us, in order to contend hand to hand; that there are besides chariots coming, which will not stand still as heretofore, turned away as for flight,<sup>8</sup> but that the horses of these chariots are covered with mail, the drivers stand in wooden towers, covered on all the upper parts of their bodies with corselets and helmets, while steel scythes are fixed to the axletrees, in

<sup>8</sup> The fighter entered the chariot at the back, and, consequently, when he had quitted it to combat on the ground, the driver wheeled it round with its back towards the enemy, the better to allow the fighter to retreat, if he should be obliged or inclined to do so.

order to cut at once through the ranks of the enemy; that they have camels, too, on which they will ride up to us, and of one of which a hundred horses would not endure the sight; and that they are advancing, moreover, with certain towers, from which they can support their own people, and, by discharging their weapons upon us, hinder us from fighting with those on even ground;—if any one told you that the enemies were possessed of these advantages, how, I say, would you, who are afraid now, have felt then? But when it is told you that Cræsus is chosen the enemy's general, he who was so much less courageous than the Syrians, inasmuch as the Syrians were beaten before they fled, but Cræsus, when he saw them beaten, instead of supporting his allies, took to flight and went off; and when it is also told you that the same enemies do not think themselves sufficient to engage us, but are hiring others, in the belief that they will fight for them better than themselves;—if these things, such as they are, appear terrible to any of you, and the state of our own affairs weak, I think, my friends, that we ought to send such persons over to the enemy, for, by being there, they may do us more service than by remaining amongst us!”

When Cyrus had said this, Chrysantas the Persian stood up and spoke thus: “Do not wonder, O Cyrus! that some of us have gath-



ered gloom on our countenances from having heard these accounts; for they have not been thus affected from fear, but from grief; just as if," continued he, "when people were longing and expecting to dine, some work should be mentioned to them, that must be done before they dined, no one of them, I believe, would be pleased to hear of it. So we, while we are in present expectation of enriching ourselves, and hear that there is some work left that we must perform, have our countenances overcast, not from fear, but from wishing that the work were already done. But, since we are not only to contend for Syria, where there is corn in abundance, and flocks, and fruitful palm trees, but for Lydia also, in which there is abundance of wine, abundance of figs, and abundance of oil, and which the sea washes, from which more valuable things are imported into it than any one of us ever saw, we are, when we think on such prospects, no longer dejected, but conceive the highest possible courage, in order that we may the sooner enjoy these precious possessions of Lydia." Thus spoke Chrysantas; and all the allies were pleased with his observations, and applauded them.

"Indeed, my friends," said Cyrus, "it appears to me that we should march upon the enemy as soon as we can, so that we may in the first place, if possible, take them by surprise,

by forcing our way to the parts where their provisions are deposited; and besides, the sooner we come upon them, the fewer preparations shall we find made by them, and the greater deficiencies existing. This I give as my judgment; if any one think any other course safer or easier for us, let him inform us."

After many had concurred in opinion that it was proper to march, as soon as possible, upon the enemy, no one offered a remark to the contrary. Cyrus, in consequence, began an address to them to the following effect:

"Friends and allies, our minds, our bodies, and the arms that we are to use, have been, with the help of the gods, long since provided for us; it is now necessary for us to procure provisions for a march for not less than twenty days, both for ourselves, and as many beasts as we may require; for, upon calculation, I find that our journey will occupy more than fifteen days, during the course of which we shall find no sort of provisions; for they have been carried off, partly by ourselves, and partly by the enemy, as far as they could. We must, therefore, collect a sufficient quantity of food, without which we can neither fight nor live; but of wine, only so much as is enough to accustom us to drink water; for a great part of the way is entirely unprovided with wine, for which even were we to put up a very great quantity of it,

it would not suffice us. That we may not, therefore, by being suddenly left without wine, fall into diseases, we must act thus; let us at once begin to drink water with our food; for, by doing so now, we shall make no very great change; since, whoever lives on barley-meal, eats his barley-cake made up with water; and he that feeds on wheaten bread, eats his loaf kneaded up with water; and all boiled meats are cooked with a great quantity of water. But if, after our meal, we drink a little wine upon it, our appetite, not having less than usual, rests satisfied. We must, however, proceed to diminish the quantity that we drink after our food, until we become insensibly water-drinkers; for an alteration, little by little, brings any nature to bear a total change; a circumstance which the gods themselves teach us, by leading us gradually, from the midst of winter, to bear violent heat; and, from the heat, to bear severe cold; and we, in imitation of them, ought, by practice, to reach the end that we would attain. A weight of bed-clothes you may spare, and spend the price of them on provisions; for an extraordinary quantity of provisions may not be without its use; but if you should be deficient in bed-clothes, you need not fear that you will sleep uncomfortably; if it proves otherwise, blame me. Of wearing apparel, a great abundance is of advantage to him that has it, both in



health and sickness. Meats should be provided, such as are acid, sharp, and salt, for they create appetite, and afford the most lasting nourishment. And when we come into those parts of the country that are untouched, where it is probable that we shall find corn, we ought to be ready provided with hand-mills, with which we may prepare our corn; for this is the lightest of the instruments used in making bread. We ought likewise to carry with us such things as sick people want; for their bulk is very small, and we may, if such fortune befall us, be very much in want of them. We must also have store of straps; for most things, both about men and horses, are fastened by straps, and, when they wear out, or break, we shall have to stand still, unless some of us carry spare straps. Whoever has learned to polish a lance, it will be well for him not to forget a rasp, and it will be well for him to carry a file; for he that whets his spear, whets his courage at the same time; as it is a sort of shame, that one who sharpens his lance, should himself be spiritless. We should likewise have plenty of timber with us, for the chariots and carriages; for in many departments of action, there will be many things defective. We ought to have, too, the instruments most necessary for all these works, for artificers are not found everywhere, nor will a few of them be able to do what will be required every day.

For every carriage we should have a shovel and a mattock; and for every beast of burden, an axe and a bill;<sup>9</sup> for these instruments are useful to every one in particular, and are often serviceable for general use. As to what is necessary for subsistence, therefore, you who are officers of the men in arms, examine those that are under you; for we must overlook nothing of the supplies that each man may require, as we shall need them. As to the things which I order the men to provide for the beasts of burden, you who have the care of the baggage-train, examine into their condition, and oblige the man that has them not, to procure them. You, also, who are officers of the pioneers, get a list from me of such as have been expelled<sup>1</sup> from the javelin-men, the archers, and the slingers; and those that come from among the javelin-men, you must oblige to march with an axe for cutting wood; those from among the archers with a mattock; and those from among the slingers, with a shovel. These must march, carrying these instruments, in troops before the carriages, in order that, if it be necessary to clear the way, you may presently set to work, and that I, if I want anything done, may know from whence I must get men for my use. I

<sup>9</sup> These instruments were for cutting down trees, and removing other obstructions in the roads.

<sup>1</sup> Rejected or expelled from among the javelin-men for bad conduct, indocility, or some other cause.

will take with me also smiths, carpenters, and leather-cutters, of an age for service, with all their proper tools, so that if anything is wanted in the army in such arts, it may not be left undone. These shall be detached from the troops under arms, but shall be in an appointed place, ready to do service for hire, in what they understand, for any one that wishes to engage them. If any trader desires to attend us, with a view to selling any article, he shall, if he be found selling anything during the specified number of days for which the men are to bring provisions, be deprived of all that he has; but when those days are past, he may sell as he pleases. And whoever of these traders shall be found to offer the greatest supplies for sale, shall meet with rewards and honour both from our allies and from me. If any of them thinks that he wants money to purchase goods, let him, on bringing forward people that know him, and will give bail that he will attend the army, receive a supply from the funds which we have.

“Such are the directions which I give. If any one notices anything else that is necessary, let him signify it to me. You, for your parts, go and prepare your baggage; I, in the meantime, will sacrifice with a view to our march; and when the omens from the gods are favourable, we will give the signal. All must attend, with the things which I have mentioned, in their



proper places, under their several commanders. You, captains, after having put your several divisions in order, come all of you and confer with me, that you may know your several posts."

III.—The officers, after listening to this exhortation, proceeded to make their preparations; and Cyrus offered sacrifice. When the omens from the victims were favourable, he set forward with the army, and encamped the first day at as short a distance from home as he could, that if any one had forgotten anything, he might return for it; and that if any one found himself in want of anything, he might provide it. Cyaxares, with the third part of the Medes, stayed behind, that affairs at home might not be left without a governor.

Cyrus marched with the utmost despatch, keeping the cavalry in front, but making the explorers and scouts, from time to time, mount up before, on places from which they could most conveniently look forward. Behind the cavalry he brought up the baggage, forming, where the country was level, several lines of the carriages and beasts of burden. As the body of foot followed next, if any of the baggage train fell behind, those of the officers that were at hand took care that it might not be hindered from making its way. But, where the road was more

contracted, the armed infantry, ranging the baggage train in the middle, marched on each side of it; and if any obstruction came in the way, those of the soldiers, again, that were near that part, attended to it. The several companies marched for the most part with their own baggage next them, for orders had been given to those who had charge of the baggage to march each near his own company, unless some unavoidable necessity prevented; and the baggage-captain of each centurion carried, on the march, his own ensign, known to the men of their several companies; so that they marched in close order, and every officer took great care of his own men's baggage, that it might not be left behind; and, by observing this order, they had no need to seek for each other, and all things were at hand and in greater safety, and the soldiers could more readily obtain what they wanted.

But as soon as the scouts in advance thought that they observed men in the plain collecting forage and wood, and saw beasts of burden laden with other such things, and others feeding, and then looking forward to a greater distance thought that they perceived smoke, or dust, rising up into the air, they could pretty well conclude, from all these indications, that the army of the enemy was somewhere near at hand. The captain of the scouts, therefore, im-

mediately sent a messenger to Cyrus to tell him what they saw.

*This position still prevails*

Cyrus, on receiving this information, directed the scouts to remain in the same places of observation, and to give him an account, from time to time, of whatever new appearance they might observe. He also sent a company of horse forward, and ordered them to endeavour to capture some of the men that were in the plain, that they might ascertain more accurately what was the real state of affairs. Those who received these orders acted accordingly. The rest of his army he caused to halt where they were, so that the men might provide themselves with whatever he thought necessary before they came to close quarters with the enemy; and, first of all, he gave notice that they should take their dinners, and then wait in their posts to attend to further orders. When they had dined, he called together the officers of the horse, foot, and chariots, as well as those of the machines, baggage train, and carriages; and they assembled accordingly.

Those who had made an excursion into the plain, having taken some prisoners, now brought them up. The prisoners, being questioned by Cyrus, told him, that they were from the enemy's camp, and, having passed their advanced guard, had come out, some for forage and some for wood; for, by reason of the great



number of the army, everything was scarce. Cyrus, on hearing this, said, "And how far is the army from hence?" They told him, about two parasangs. Cyrus then asked, "Is there any talk amongst them concerning us?" "Yes, by Jove," said they, "a great deal, to the effect that you are already advancing close upon them." "Well then," said Cyrus, "did they rejoice at hearing of our approach?" This he asked for the sake of those who stood by. "No, indeed," said they, "they did not rejoice, but were very much troubled." "And what," asked Cyrus, "are they now doing?" "They are forming in order of battle," said they, "and both yesterday and the day before they were engaged in the same employment." "And who is it that is arranging them?" inquired Cyrus. "Cræsus himself," said they, "and with him a certain Greek, and another besides, who is a Mede, and who was said to be a deserter from you." Cyrus then exclaimed, "O supreme Jupiter, may it be my fortune to take this man as I desire!"

He now ordered them to take away the prisoners, and turned to the by-standers as if he were going to say something. But at that instant there came another man from the captain of the scouts, who told him a great body of horse was visible in the plain, "and we conjecture," said he, "that they are riding forward

with an intention to take a view of the army; for, in advance of this body, there is another party, of about thirty horse, that are riding on in compact order, directly over against us, perhaps with a design to seize, if they can, our place of observation, and we are but a single decad upon that station." Cyrus then ordered a detachment of the cavalry, that always attended him, to ride up close to the place of observation, out of the enemy's sight, and to keep themselves quiet there. "And whenever our decad," said he, "quits the station, rush forth and attack those that mount it; and, that the enemy's greater body may not annoy you, you, Hystaspes," added he, "take a thousand horse, and march forth, and show yourself over against the enemy's body; but do not pursue to any place out of sight, but, after taking care that the stations may remain in your own possession, advance onwards. And if any ride towards you holding up their right hands, receive them as friends."

Hystaspes then went away and armed himself. Those that attended Cyrus set off immediately, as he had directed, and, on this side of the places of observation, Araspes, with his followers, met them, he who had been some time before sent out as a spy, and who had been the guardian of the Susian woman. Cyrus, as soon as he saw him, leaped from his seat, met him,

and took him by the right hand. The rest, knowing nothing of the matter, were, as was natural, surprised at it, till Cyrus said, "My friends, one of the most deserving men has returned to us; for it is now fit that every one should know what he has done. This man went away, not from having sunk under any disgrace, or from any fear of my displeasure, but from being sent by me, in order that, learning the state of the enemy's affairs for us, he might bring us a clear account of them. What I promised<sup>2</sup> you therefore, Araspes, I remember, and, in conjunction with all these that are here, will bestow it on you. And it is just that you, my friends, should all pay him honour as a brave man; for, to do us service, he both threw himself into danger, and incurred that reproach under which he laboured." Upon this they all saluted Araspes, and gave him their right hands.

Cyrus, at length, telling them that enough was done, said, "Give us an account, Araspes, of what it is proper for us to know; neither abate anything of the truth, nor extenuate the strength of the enemy; for it is better that we should think it greater, and find it less, than hear it to be less, and find it greater." "I acted, indeed," said Araspes, "in such a manner as to learn with the greatest certainty what the

<sup>2</sup> What Cyrus had promised him we are nowhere told.



strength of the army is, for I assisted in person at their arrangements." "You know then," said Cyrus, "not only their numbers, but their order too." "I do, indeed," said Araspes, "and the manner in which they intend to engage." "In the first place, however," said Cyrus, "tell us, summarily, what their numbers are." "They are all ranged, then," said he, "thirty in depth, both infantry and cavalry, except the Egyptians, and they extend in front about forty stadia, for I took great care to know what ground they occupied." "As to the Egyptians, then?" said Cyrus, "how are they ranged, for you said 'except the Egyptians?'" "The commanders of ten thousand drew up each body of ten thousand, a hundred on each side;<sup>3</sup> for they said, that this was the customary arrangement of their troops at home; but Cræsus reluctantly allowed them to form in this manner, for he was desirous to out-flank your army as much as possible." "And why," said Cyrus, "does he desire to do so?" "Why, by Jove," said Araspes, "in order to surround you with the part that extends beyond your line." "But they shall see," rejoined Cyrus, "whether the encompassers will be themselves encompassed. We have, however, heard what it was proper for us to ascertain from you;

<sup>3</sup> The squares being solid, with a hundred men on each side, each would contain ten thousand men.

and you, my friends, must act in this manner:

“As soon as you go from hence, examine the equipments both of your horses and yourselves; for, frequently, from a deficiency in a small matter, both man, and horse, and chariot, become useless. To-morrow, in the morning, whilst I am sacrificing, you must first take your breakfasts, both men and horses, that whatever opportunity of action may present itself, we may not fail to take advantage of it. You, Araspes, keep the right wing as you do now, and you, the other commanders of ten thousand, retain the stations which you now occupy; for, when a chariot-race is going to begin, there is no longer time for any chariot to shift its horses; and give orders to the several centurions and captains to form in line, making each company two deep.”<sup>4</sup> Each company consisted of four-and-twenty men.

One of the commanders of ten thousand then said, “And when we are ranged but so many deep, are we likely to be strong enough against phalanxes of so great a depth?”

Cyrus replied, “As to phalanxes that are too deep to reach the enemy with their weapons,

<sup>4</sup> There would thus be twelve men in front, there being only two in depth. But when the javelin-men were brought up behind the heavy-armed, the arches behind the javelin-men, and behind the javelin-men those of the rearguard (so called), all in equal numbers, the line would evidently be eight deep.

what injury can they possibly do to the enemy, or what service to their fellow-combatants? Those soldiers that are ranged a hundred in depth," added he, "I would rather choose to have ranged ten thousand in depth, for, by that means, we should engage with a still smaller number, and have the fewer to engage; but from the number with which I shall deepen our phalanx, I think that I shall render the whole efficient and self-supporting. The javelin-men I shall range behind those armed with corselets, and behind the javelin-men the archers; for how could any one place those in front who themselves confess that they can sustain no encounter hand to hand? But when they have those armed with corselets in front of them, they will stand; and the one line hurling their javelins, and the other discharging their arrows, over the heads of those ranged before them, will do execution upon the enemy; and as far as any one does harm to the enemy, it is plain that so far he relieves his fellow-combatants. Last of all, I will place those that are called the rear; for as there is no value in a house, without a strong foundation of stone, and without men to form a roof, so there is no profit from an army without such as will be of service both in front and rear.<sup>5</sup> You then," said he, "form as I order

<sup>5</sup> "No profit either without the first or without the last, unless they shall be efficient men." There is no efficiency in an army



you; and you, commanders of the javelin-men, form your companies in the same manner behind these; and you, captains of the archers, form, in like manner, behind the javelin-men. You, general, who command the rear, with your men placed last, give orders to those under you, to keep each his eye on those before him, to encourage those that do their duty, to threaten severely such as are deficient in courage; and, if any one turn about, with intention to desert, to punish him with death. For it is the business of those who are placed in front, to encourage, both by words and actions, those who follow; and you, who are placed in the rear of all, must inspire the cowardly with greater terror than that which they feel from the enemy. You attend to these matters; and you, Euphratas, who command those that belong to the machines, take care that the oxen that draw the towers follow as close to the main body as possible. You, Dauchus, who have charge of the baggage, bring up all that train behind the towers, and let your officers severely punish those who advance or fall behind unseasonably. You, Carduchus, who have the care of the carriages that convey the women, place these in the rear, behind the baggage-train; for all these, following each other, will present the appearance of

in the absence of men for the front and rear, nor any efficiency in it when they are present, unless they be good soldiers.

a great multitude, and will give us an opportunity of forming an ambuscade; and, if the enemy attempt to surround us, will oblige them to take a greater circuit; and the more ground they encompass, so much the weaker must they of necessity be. You, therefore, act according to these instructions. But you, Artaozus and Artagerses, keep, each of you, your body of a thousand foot behind these. You, Pharnuchus and Asiadatas, do not join your troops of a thousand cavalry, of which you each have the command, with the main line, but arm by yourselves, behind the women's carriages, and then come to us, together with the rest of the commanders; but you must prepare yourselves as if you were to be the first to engage. You, who have the charge of the men with the camels, form behind the women's carriages; and do whatever Artagerses may desire you. As for you, leaders of the chariots, after you have cast lots, let him among you, who obtains that post, range his hundred chariots in front, before the main line, and let the other hundreds of chariots attend the main body ranged in a long train, one advancing on the right side of the army, and the other on the left."

Thus Cyrus directed. But Abradatas, king of Susa, said, "I take it voluntarily upon myself, Cyrus, to hold that station in front, over against the line of the enemy, unless you have

anything else in view." Cyrus, admiring his spirit, and taking him by the right hand, asked the Persians, that had the command of the other chariots, saying, "Do you agree to this?" As they replied, that it would not be honourable in them to yield the post, he made them all cast lots, and Abradatas obtained by lot the station which he had offered to take, and took his place opposite to the Egyptians. The officers, having then gone away, and attended to the particulars which I have mentioned, took their suppers, and, after placing the sentinels, went to rest.

IV—Next day, early in the morning, Cyrus offered sacrifice; and the rest of the army, after taking their breakfast, and making their libations, proceeded to equip themselves with fine coats, in great number, and with many fine corselets and helmets. The horses, likewise, they armed with forehead-pieces and breast-plates; the single horses with thigh-pieces, and those in the chariots with plates upon their sides; so that the whole army glittered with brass, and shone with purple garments.

The chariot of Abradatas, that had four poles and eight horses, was most handsomely adorned; and, when he was going to put on his linen corselet, which was the dress of his countrymen, Panthea brought him a golden helmet, and arm-pieces, broad bracelets for his wrists, a purple



habit that reached to his feet, and hung in folds at the bottom, and a crest of a violet colour. These things she had made, having, without the knowledge of her husband, taken the measure of his armour. He wondered when he saw them, and inquired of Panthea, "Have you had these arms made for me, wife, at the sacrifice of your own ornaments?" "Not indeed," said Panthea, "at the sacrifice of the most valuable one; for you yourself, if you appear to others as you appear to me, will be my greatest ornament." Saying this, she put on him the armour; while, though she endeavoured to conceal them, the tears flowed down her cheeks.

When Abradatas, who was before a man of striking appearance, was equipped in these arms, he appeared eminently handsome, as well as noble, such indeed being his nature. Having taken the reins from the driver, he was preparing to mount the chariot, when Panthea, desiring all that were present to retire said, "O Abradatas, if there ever was a woman who had more value for her husband, than for her own soul, I think you know that I am such a character. Why, then, need I speak of every single circumstance? for I think that actions have been shown you, on my part, more convincing than any words which can now be spoken. But, though I stand thus affected towards you, as you know, I swear, by my friendship and your

own, that I certainly would rather choose to be put under ground together with you, while you approve yourself a brave man, than to live dishonoured with you in dishonour; so much have I judged both you and myself worthy of the noblest distinctions. I consider too, that we owe a great debt of gratitude to Cyrus, because, when I was a captive, and selected for himself, he neither thought fit to take me as a slave, nor as a free-woman under an ignominious name; but he took and kept me for you, as if I had been his brother's wife. Besides, when Araspes, who was my guard, went away from him, I promised him, that, if he would allow me to send to you, you would come to him, and be to him a much more faithful and deserving friend than Araspes."

Thus she spoke; and Abradatas, struck with admiration at her words, and laying his hand gently upon her head, lifted up his eyes to heaven, and prayed, saying, "O supreme Jupiter, grant me to prove myself a husband worthy of Panthea, and a friend worthy of Cyrus, who has done us so much honour!"

Having said this, he mounted the chariot by the door of the driver's seat; and when, after he had got up, the driver shut the door of the seat, Panthea, who had now no other way to salute him, kissed the seat of the chariot. The chariot then moved on, and she followed him unper-

ceived, till Abradatas, turning about and seeing her, said, "Take courage, Panthea! Farewell; and now return." Her eunuchs and women-servants immediately took her up and conveyed her to her carriage; and, laying her down, concealed her with the awning. The people, though Abradatas and his chariot formed a noble spectacle, cared not to look at him, till Panthea was gone.

When Cyrus had found favourable omens in the sacrifices, and the army had been arranged for him as he had directed, he occupied places of observation, one in advance of another, and, calling the leaders together, addressed them thus: "Friends and fellow-soldiers, the gods show us the same propitious omens in our sacrifices, as when they gave us victory before; and I wish to put you in mind of some particulars, that you may, while you bear them in remembrance, march with greater courage to the encounter. You have practised the exercises of war much more than our enemies have; you have been bred up together, and have been united in the same army, a much longer time than our enemies have been; you have been fellow-conquerors together, while most of our enemies have been fellow-sharers in defeat; and of those on both sides, that have not yet seen a battle, those who are on the enemy's side, know that they have for their supporters men that are desert-



ers of their posts, but you, that are on our side, know that you take the field with men zealous to assist their friends. It is natural, then, that they who have confidence in each other, should unanimously stand and fight; but those who distrust each other must necessarily be severally contriving how they may soonest withdraw. Let us march then, my friends, upon the enemy, with our armed chariots against those of the enemy unarmed, and with our cavalry in like manner, both men and horses, armed against those of the enemy unarmed, in the resolution to come to a close engagement. As for the infantry, the rest are such as you have encountered already, but the Egyptians are both armed and disposed alike inefficiently; for they have shields too large to act or see with, and, being ranged a hundred in depth, it is evident they will hinder one another from fighting, except only a very few. If they trust that they shall force us back by an impetuous onset, they must first sustain the charge of our horse, and steel driven upon them by the force of horses;<sup>6</sup> and if any of them withstand this, how will they be able to engage our cavalry, our line of infantry, and our towers, at the same time? For the men on the towers will support us, and, by hurling their weapons on the enemy, will cause them, instead of fighting, to be perplexed how to act. If you think that you are still in want of any-

<sup>6</sup> The scythes attached to the chariots.

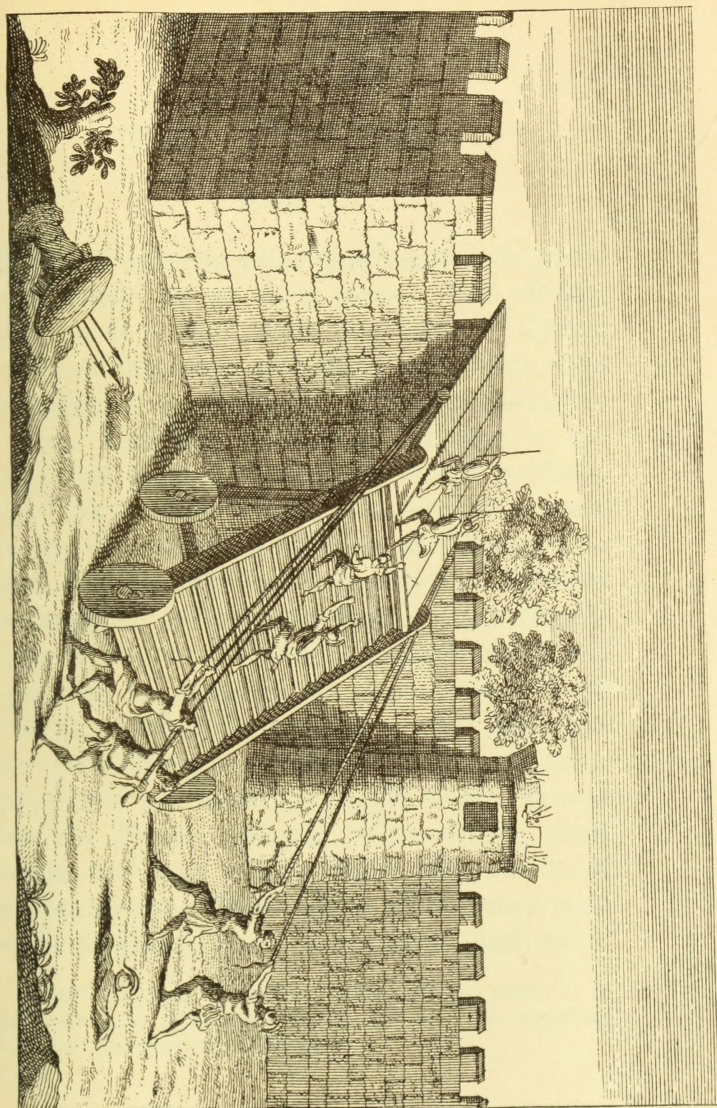
thing, tell it me; for, with the help of the gods, we shall be in want of nothing. If any one of you wishes to say anything, let him speak; if not, betake yourselves to your devotions, and, having made your prayers to the gods, to whom we have sacrificed, go to your posts, and let each of you remind those under his command of what I have now impressed on your minds; and let each of you make it apparent to those whom he commands, that he is worthy of command, by showing himself fearless in his bearing, his countenance, and his words!"

thing, tell it me; for, with the help of the gods, we shall be in want of nothing. If any one of you wishes to say anything, let him speak; if not, betake yourselves to your devotions, and, having made your prayers to the gods, to whom we have sacrificed, go to your posts, and let each of you remind those under his command of what I have now impressed on your minds; and let each of you make it apparent to those whom he commands, that he is worthy of command, by showing himself fearless in his bearing, his countenance, and his words!"

Sambuca

*Used by Besiegers to Scale Walls. After an  
Etching of the Seventeenth Century, now  
in the British Museum*





## THE CYROPÆDIA

### BOOK VII

**T**HE officers, after praying to the gods, went off to their posts. The attendants brought meat and drink to Cyrus, and those that were with him, while they were yet engaged in sacrificing. Cyrus, standing as he was,<sup>1</sup> and first making an offering to the gods, took his dinner, and distributed portions, from time to time, to such as were most in need. Having then made a libation, and prayed, he drank, and the rest that were with him followed his example. Afterwards, having made supplication to Jupiter Patrius, to be their leader and supporter, he mounted his horse, and ordered those about him to mount theirs. All those who were with Cyrus were furnished with the same equipments as himself; purple coats, brazen corselets, brazen helmets, white crests, short swords, and each with a single spear made of the corneil-tree. Their horses were armed with brazen forehead-pieces, breastplates, and shoul-

<sup>1</sup> Without changing his position; without sitting down, as he might have done, if he had been engaged in a less important occupation than that of sacrificing.



der-pieces, which also served as thigh-pieces to the rider. The arms of Cyrus, however, so far differed from the others, that theirs were lackered over with a gold colour, but those of Cyrus shone like a mirror.

When he was mounted, and stood considering which way he should go, it thundered on the right; when he exclaimed, "We will follow thee, O supreme Jupiter!" He then set forward with Chrysantas, the commander of the cavalry, and his body of cavalry, upon his right hand, and Arsamas, with his body of foot, upon his left. He directed them to look to his standard, and follow at an even pace; the standard was a golden eagle on a long lance. This continues to be the standard of the Persian king to this day. Before they came in sight of the enemy, he made the army halt three times.

After they had advanced about twenty stadia, they began to observe the army of the enemy coming against them; and when they were all in view of each other, and the enemy found that they far outflanked them on both wings, they made their own line halt (for otherwise there was no fetching a compass), and wheeled round to enclose the enemy, causing their line, on each side, to take the form of the letter gamma,<sup>2</sup> so

<sup>2</sup> Thus their army, says Poppo, would appear in the shape of two gammas placed in this manner: — —



that they might commence the action from every part at once.

Cyrus, seeing this manœuvre, did not slacken his pace on account of it, but led forward just as before; and observing how far round on each side they fetched their compass, in which they wheeled and extended their wings, "Do you observe," said he, "Chrysantas, where they make their circuit?" "Yes, indeed," said Chrysantas, "and I wonder at it, for to me they seem to draw off their wings very far from their own line." "Yes, by Jove," said Cyrus, "and from ours too."<sup>3</sup> "Why so?" said Chrysantas. "Plainly," said Cyrus, "because they are afraid, that if their wings come near us, while their main body is yet at a distance, we shall charge them." "Then," said Chrysantas, "how will they be able to support one another, when they are at such a distance from each other?" "It is plain," said Cyrus, "that when their wings have gained so much ground as to be over against the flanks of our army, they will wheel about, so as to form in line, and advance upon us from every side at once, in order to attack us on all quarters simultaneously." "Do

<sup>3</sup> With regard to this compass or circuit of the Assyrian army, and the recession of the wings from the Persian force, it seems reasonable to suppose that Cræsus made such movements and extensions of his line, as to keep his wings from coming in contact with the enemy before the centre was ready to attack, so that he might assail Cyrus in front and on the flanks simultaneously.

you think, then," said Chrysantas, "that they lay their plans well?" "Yes, with regard to what they see; but with regard to what they do not see,<sup>4</sup> they plan worse than if they advanced upon us in a column. But you, Arsamas, lead on quietly with your infantry, as you observe that I do; and you, Chrysantas, follow with your cavalry at the same pace with Arsamas. I shall ride off to the place where I think it proper to begin the engagement, and, as I pass along, I shall see how our several divisions stand. When I reach the place, and when we are fast approaching each other, I will begin the pæan; and do you hasten forward. When we engage the enemy, you will perceive it, for there will, I suppose, be no small noise; and Abradatas will then proceed to charge the enemy with his chariots, for such directions shall be given him; you must follow, keeping as close as possible behind the chariots, for we shall thus fall upon the enemy while they are most in disorder. I will myself come up, as soon as I can, to pursue them, if the gods please."

Having spoken thus, and given out the word, "JUPITER THE PRESERVER AND LEADER," he set forward. Making his way between the chariots and corselet-men, he would say, as he looked on some of those in the ranks, "My friends,

<sup>4</sup>The troops and camels ranged behind the baggage.

how pleasing is it to see your faces!" To others, again, he would say, "Do you not consider, my friends, that our present contest is not merely for victory to-day, but to maintain the victory that you gained before, and for all good fortune hereafter. Henceforward, soldiers, we shall have no cause to blame the gods, for they have put it in our power to acquire many great advantages; but, my friends, let us prove ourselves brave men." Coming up to others, he spoke thus: "My friends, to what nobler association can we ever invite one another than to the present? For it is now in our power, by being brave men, to confer upon each other many great benefits." To others, again, he said, "You know, my friends, I believe, that the prizes offered to those who conquer, are to pursue, to strike, to kill, to get gain, to win praise, to be free, to rule; but for cowards, evidently, the reverse of all these. Whoever, therefore, loves himself, let him fight as I fight, for I shall not willingly allow in myself anything weak or dishonourable." When he came up with such as had been in battle with him before, he said: "And to you, my friends, what need I say? for you know what sort of day the brave, and what sort of day cowards, pass in the field."

When he came, as he passed along, over against Abradatas, he stopped; and Abradatas,



delivering the reins to the driver, went up to him, and several others of those that were posted near, belonging both to the infantry and the chariots, ran to him; and as they gathered round him, he said, "The gods, as you desired, Abradatas, have granted to you, and those with you, to hold a chief place amongst all the allies; and, when you have to engage, remember that the Persians are to see you, and to follow you, and not suffer you to engage alone." Abradatas replied, "Affairs with us, Cyrus, seem to promise well, but the flanks give me some uneasiness; for I see that the wings of the enemy are stretched out in great strength, with chariots and every kind of force; but on our side there is nothing opposed to them but chariots; so that," continued he, "had I not obtained this post by lot, I should be ashamed to be here; so much do I think myself in the safest post." Cyrus replied, "If things are well with you, be at ease as to the rest; for, with the help of the gods, I will show you those flanks of ours entirely clear of enemies. And do not you, I conjure you, attack the enemy, before you see those men fleeing of whom you are now afraid." Thus boastingly did he express himself as the battle was coming on, though, at other times, he was little inclined to boasting. "But," added he, "when you see those men fleeing, be sure that I am at hand, and rush upon the enemy,

for you will then deal with them while they are most disheartened, and your own men in the best spirits. But, while you have still time, Abradatas, ride along, by all means, by your own chariots, and exhort your people to the attack, inspiring them with courage by your looks, and animating them with hopes. And, that you may appear the bravest of all that belong to the chariots, excite emulation in your men; for, be assured, that if things now fall out well, all will say, for the future, that nothing is more profitable than bravery." Abradatas then mounted and rode along the line, and did as Cyrus had suggested.

Cyrus, moving on again, and coming to the left wing, where Hystaspes was with the half of the Persian cavalry, calling him by his name, said, "Hystaspes, you now see work for your activity; for, if we get beforehand with the enemy in killing them, not a man of us will be killed." Hystaspes, laughing, replied, "We will take care of those in front of us; give those upon the flanks in charge to others, that they may not want occupation." Cyrus then said, "I am going to those myself. But remember this, Hystaspes: to whichsoever of us the gods may give victory, if the enemy make a stand anywhere, let us always join in with our forces to charge those who resist."

Having spoken thus, he moved on, and when,

in his progress, he came to the flank,<sup>5</sup> and to the commander of the chariots there, he said to him, "I am come to your support; but when you perceive us attacking the extremity,<sup>6</sup> endeavour yourselves, at the same time, to force a way through the enemy, for you will be much safer when you are without their line, than while you are enclosed within it." Then, passing on again, when he came behind the women's carriages, he ordered Artagerses and Pharnuchus, each with his thousand men, one of foot and the other of horse, to remain there; "And when you perceive me," said he, "attacking those opposite our right wing, do you likewise charge those that are opposite you. You will assail them in flank, where a body of men is weakest, keeping yourselves in a phalanx, that you may be as strong as possible. The enemy's cavalry, as you see, are the hindmost; advance the body of camels everywhere upon them, and be assured that, before you come to engage, you will see the enemy made ridiculous." Cyrus, having concluded these instructions, proceeded to the right wing.

Crœsus, judging that his main body, with which he himself marched, was now nearer to the enemy than his extended wings, gave the signal to the wings to advance no farther, but

<sup>5</sup> The left flank.

<sup>6</sup> The right extremity or wing of the army.



to wheel round in the place where they were. As soon as they stood facing towards the army of Cyrus, he gave them the signal to march upon the enemy. Thus three dense bodies advanced upon the army of Cyrus; one in front, and, of the other two, one against the right wing, and the other against the left; so that great alarm pervaded all Cyrus's army. For, as a small brick placed within a large one, so was the army of Cyrus enclosed by the enemy, with their cavalry, their heavy-armed men, their peltasts, archers, and chariots, on every side except the rear. Yet when Cyrus gave the signal, they all turned and faced the enemy; and there was a deep silence in every part, from apprehension respecting the event. As soon as Cyrus thought it the proper time, he began the pæan, and the whole army sung it with him. Afterwards they raised the battle-shout to Mars; and Cyrus started forward, and instantly taking the enemy in flank with his cavalry, engaged hand to hand with them as soon as possible. The foot immediately followed him in close order, and swept round the enemy on every side; so that they had very much the advantage; for they were attacking a division in flank; hence a precipitate flight soon took place among the enemy. As soon as Artagerses perceived that Cyrus was engaged, he commenced an attack upon the left, making the camels ad-

vance, as Cyrus had ordered; and the enemy's horses, even when at a great distance, were not able to endure them, but some of them, being maddened, ran away, some started from their ranks, and others fell foul of one another; for thus are horses always affected by camels. Artagerses, with his men in good order, charged the enemy that were in confusion; and the chariots, both to the right and left, made their onset at the same time. Many of the enemy that escaped from the chariots, were killed by those that pursued in column, and many that escaped from these were cut off by the chariots.

Abradatas then delayed no longer, but shouting aloud, "Follow me, friends!" rushed on, without sparing his horses, but drawing much blood from them with the goad. The other charioteers dashed forward with him. The chariots of the enemy instantly fled before them, some of them taking up their fighting men, and others leaving them. Abradatas forced his way directly through them, to the Egyptian phalanx, and those that were ranged nearest him joined him in the charge. Upon many other occasions it has been seen, that a troop can never be stronger than when it is formed of fellow-combatants that are friends; and it was seen upon this occasion; for the companions and associates of Abradatas supported him in his onset; but the other drivers, when they saw the

Egyptians stand their ground in a close body, turned aside to the chariots that were fleeing, and pursued them. As the Egyptians were unable to separate themselves, because those on each side of them remained firm, Abradatas and his troop, wherever they directed their charge, overthrew those who stood upright with the impetus of their chariots, and crushed those who fell, both men and arms, with the hoofs of their horses and their wheels; and whatever the scythes caught, whether arms or bodies of men, they cut through with resistless force. In this indescribable confusion, the wheels being jolted by heaps of every description, Abradatas, and some of those who joined in the charge with him, were thrown from their vehicles; and here, while they proved themselves brave men, they were cut down and killed.

The Persians who followed close after them, rushing in where Abradatas and his friends had made their charges, cut to pieces such as were in disorder; but, where the Egyptians remained unbroken (and there were many in this condition), they advanced to attack the Persians. Then ensued a terrible combat of lances, javelins, and swords; but the Egyptians had the advantage, both from their numbers and their arms, for their lances were strong and of great length (such as they still use), and their large shields were a better defence to their persons,



than corselets and smaller shields; and being set against their shoulders, assisted them in pushing against the enemy. Locking their shields together, therefore, they advanced and pushed forward. The Persians, holding out their small sort of shields at arm's length, were not able to withstand them, but retreated with their faces toward the enemy, giving and receiving blows, till they came to the machines. When they came thither, the Egyptians were again galled from the towers. Those who were in the rear of all, would not suffer either the archers or javelin-men to flee, but, holding up their swords at them, forced them to shoot and to throw. There then followed great havoc of men, great clashing of arms and weapons of all kinds, and great noise of people, some calling to each other, some making exhortations, and some invoking the gods.

At this time, Cyrus, in pursuit of those that had been opposed to him, came up; and when he saw the Persians driven from their post, he was grieved; and, knowing that he could not sooner stop the progress of the enemy forward, otherwise than by riding round to their rear, he commanded those that were with him to follow, and rode round to the rear; where his men fell upon them as their backs were turned, and killed a great many. The Egyptians, as soon as they perceived this, cried out, that the en-

emy was behind them, and faced about amidst the blows. Here infantry and cavalry fought promiscuously, and a man falling under Cyrus's horse, and being trampled upon, struck his sword into the horse's belly; and the horse, thus wounded, plunged and threw Cyrus off. In this juncture, it might be seen of what advantage it was for a commander to have the love of those around him; for all immediately cried out, fell on, and fought, pushed, and were pushed, struck, and were struck; and one of the attendants of Cyrus, leaping from his horse, mounted Cyrus upon him. When Cyrus was on horseback, he perceived that the Egyptians were now exposed to attacks on every side, for Hystaspes was come up with the Persian horse as well as Chrysantas; but he would not now suffer them to fall upon the phalanx of the Egyptians, but ordered them to gall them with arrows and javelins from a distance. Then, in riding round, as he came up to the machines, he thought proper to mount one of the towers, to see whether any other division of the enemy still made a stand and fought. When he had ascended, he saw the whole plain full of horses, men, and chariots, some fleeing, others pursuing, some victorious, others defeated; but he could see no division, except that of the Egyptians, any longer keeping their ground; who, when they were at a loss what to do, formed

themselves into a circle, so that their arms faced the enemy, and sat down under the shelter of their shields; they no longer acted, but suffered many grievous wounds.

Cyrus, being struck with admiration at their conduct, and concerned that men of such bravery should perish, made all those retreat that were engaged around them, and suffered none to continue fighting. He then sent to them a herald, to ask "whether they all preferred to die for men that had deserted them, or to be saved with the reputation of being brave men?" They replied, "How then can we obtain safety, and preserve our reputation as brave men?" Cyrus rejoined, "Because we see that you are the only men that stand your ground, and are disposed to fight." "But then," said the Egyptians, "by what honourable means can we save ourselves?" Cyrus in reply said, "If you save yourselves, without betraying any of your allies; delivering up your arms to us, and becoming friends to those who prefer to save you, when it is in their power to destroy you." Having heard this, they asked, "If we become your friends, how will you think fit to treat us?" Cyrus replied, "I shall think fit both to do you good offices, and to receive them from you." The Egyptians then again asked, "What good offices?" Cyrus replied, "As long as the war continues, I will give you larger pay than you



now receive; and when we have peace, I will give to every one of you that will stay with me lands, cities, women, and servants." The Egyptians, hearing this offer, begged him to grant them an exemption from serving in the war with him against Crœsus; "for to him alone," said they, "were they known;" but, consenting to the other proposals, they gave and received assurances of friendship. The Egyptians, who then remained there, continue to this day faithful to the king; and Cyrus gave them cities, some inland, which are still called the cities of the Egyptians, and Larissa and Cyllene, which are situate on the sea near Cuma, and which their posterity still occupy.

Cyrus, having accomplished these affairs, retreated, as it was now growing dark, and encamped at Thymbrara. In this battle, the Egyptians only, of all the enemy's people, at all distinguished themselves; and of those on the side of Cyrus, the Persian cavalry were thought to have been the best; hence the same sort of arms, with which Cyrus then equipped his cavalry continue in use to this day. The chariots armed with scythes, too, were greatly approved; so that that engine of war continues still to be used by the successive kings of Persia. The camels did no more than frighten the horses; they that mounted them did no execution upon the cavalry, nor were any of the men

themselves killed by the cavalry, for no horse would come near them. This animal, then, was reckoned of use; but no respectable man will breed camels for his own riding, nor exercise them with a view to fighting on their backs; so that, returning to their old condition, they continue in the baggage train.

II.—Cyrus' men, having taken their suppers, and placed sentinels, as was necessary, went to rest. Cræsus immediately fled, with his army, to Sardes. The other nations went off in the night, each as far as they could, on their way homeward. As soon as it was day, Cyrus led his army towards Sardes; and when he came up to the walls of that city, he raised machines, and provided ladders, as if he designed to attack the fortifications. But while he was making these preparations, he caused a party of Chaldæans and Persians, the following night, to mount that part of the fortifications of Sardes that was thought the most difficult of ascent, a certain Persian leading the way, who had been a slave to one of the guards in the citadel, and knew the descent down to the river and the ascent from it. When it was known that the heights above were taken, all the Lydians fled from the walls, to whatever part of the city they severally could. Cyrus, as soon as it was day, entered the city, and gave orders that no

one of his men should stir from his post. Cræsus, shutting himself up in his palace, called out for Cyrus, but Cyrus left men to watch Cræsus, and going off himself to the citadel, which was taken, and finding the Persians keeping guard in the citadel, as was their duty, but the arms of the Chaldæans abandoned (for they themselves had run down to plunder the houses), he immediately summoned their officers, and told them to quit the army at once; "for I could not bear," said he, "to see disorderly men get the advantage of others; and know," added he, "that I was preparing to make you, who had followed me in the field, enviable in the eyes of all the Chaldæans; but now," continued he, "do not wonder if somebody,<sup>7</sup> superior to you in strength, happen to meet with you as you go off." The Chaldæans, on hearing this denunciation, were in great fear, entreated him to lay aside his anger, and said that they would restore all the booty. He replied, "that he was not in any want of them; but," said he, "if you would wish me to feel no further displeasure, give up all that you have taken to those that have kept guard in the citadel; for, when the rest of the soldiers find that those who have been orderly have the advantage, all will go well with me." The Chaldæans did as Cyrus had

<sup>7</sup> Meaning himself, or such as he should appoint, who would take their booty from them.



commanded them, and those who had been obedient got much booty of every kind. Cyrus, having caused his men to encamp in that part of the city that he thought most convenient, gave them orders to remain there with their arms, and take their dinners.

Having made these arrangements, he ordered Cræsus to be brought before him. Cræsus, as soon as he saw Cyrus, said, "Hail, master, for, from henceforth, fortune appoints you to receive that name, and me to call you by it." "Hail to you also, Cræsus," said Cyrus, "for we are both of us men. But, Cræsus," added he, "would you be willing to give me some advice?" "I should be willing, Cyrus," said he, "to think of anything good for you, for I conceive that it would also be good for myself." "Hear then, Cræsus," said he; "knowing that the soldiers, after having undergone many fatigues, and incurred many dangers, consider themselves now in possession of the richest city in Asia, next to Babylon, I think it fit that they should receive some recompense; for I am sure," continued he, "that, unless they receive some fruit of their labours, I shall not have them long obedient to my orders; I am not however willing to give the city up to them to plunder; for I believe that it would thus be destroyed; and, in plundering, I know very well that the worst men would have the advantage." Cræ-

sus, on hearing this remark, said, "Allow me to signify to such of the Lydians as I think fit, that I have prevailed with you not to allow any plundering, nor to suffer our wives and children to be taken from us; and have promised you, in return, that you shall certainly receive from the Lydians, of their own accord, whatever there is of worth and value in Sardes; for, when they hear of this arrangement, I know that there will be brought to you everything that is of value here, in the possession either of man or woman; and, nevertheless, in another year, the city will be again full of things of value in great abundance; but, if you plunder it, the arts, which they call the sources of what is valuable, will be ruined. But you will still be at liberty, after you have seen what is brought to you, to consider whether you shall plunder the city or not. Send, however," added he, "in the first place, to my own treasures, and let your guards take them from my guards."

Cyrus agreed to act in all these particulars as Cræsus suggested. "But, tell me, by all means," said he, "what results the communications from the oracle at Delphi produced; for Apollo is said to have received much attention from you, and it is reported that you acted in everything in obedience to his directions." "Indeed, Cyrus," said he, "I could wish that it had

been so; but I have gone on, from the very first, acting in direct opposition to Apollo." "How so?" said Cyrus; "instruct me; for what you say is very strange." "Because, in the first place," said he, "neglecting to consult the god as to what I wanted, I made trial of him whether he was able to tell truth. But as to such a proceeding, not only a god, but even men of honour and integrity, when they find themselves distrusted, have no kindness for those that distrust them. However, after he knew that I was doing extremely absurd<sup>8</sup> things, and that I was at a great distance from Delphi, I sent to consult him whether I should have children. He at first made me no answer; but when by sending him many offerings of gold, and many of silver, and making many sacrifices, I had rendered him, as I thought, propitious, he then, as I asked him what I should do to have children, gave me an answer, and said, 'that I should have them.' I accordingly had children; for neither in this did he deal falsely with me; but, when I had them, they were of no profit to me, for one of them has continued dumb, and he that was the best of them perished in the flower of his age. Being oppressed with affliction at the fate of my sons, I sent again, and inquired of the god what I should do, in order

<sup>8</sup> Boiling a tortoise and a lamb together in a brazen caldron: see Herodotus.



to pass the remainder of my life in the happiest manner; and he made answer,

‘ Know thyself, Cræsus; then shalt thou live blest.’

When I heard this oracle, I was delighted; for I thought he granted me happiness, commanding me to do the easiest thing possible; since, as to other men, it was possible to know some and not others, but I thought that every man knew what he was himself. After this, during the whole time that I continued in peace, I had nothing to charge upon fortune subsequently to the death of my son. And, when I was persuaded by the Assyrian king to attack you, though I fell into all sorts of danger, I yet came off safe, without incurring any serious evil; nor can I, in this matter, at all blame the god; for, even after I found myself unable to cope with you, I escaped, with the help of the god, without injury, both myself and those that were with me. But being then again corrupted by the riches which I possessed, by those who entreated me to be their chief, by the presents which they made me, and by men that, in flattery, told me that if I would take upon me the command, all would obey me, and I should be the greatest of mankind; being puffed up, I say, by discourses of this kind, when all the kings around chose me as their leader in the war, I accepted the command, as if I were qual-

ified to be the greatest of men, not indeed knowing myself, inasmuch as I imagined myself able to contend against you; you who, in the first place, are sprung from the gods, who are also descended from a line of kings, and who have practised, from your boyhood, everything honourable. But of my own ancestors, the first that reigned, I have heard became a king and a freeman at the same time. Having been, therefore," added he, "thus ignorant of myself, I have justly suffered the penalty. But now, Cyrus, I do know myself. And do you think that Apollo will still prove to have spoken truth, that I shall be happy by knowing myself? I ask for this reason, that you seem to me likely to judge best, as to this point, at present, for you can fulfil the prediction."

Cyrus then said, "Give me your opinion, Cræsus, on this matter; for, reflecting on your former happiness, I feel compassion for you, and permit you to have your wife whom you had before, as well as your daughters (for I hear that you have daughters), your friends, servants, and table that you used to keep; but battles and wars I prohibit you." "By Jupiter, then," said Cræsus, "deliberate no longer as to answering me concerning my happiness, for I tell you at once that if you do these things for me that you say you will, I shall now live in the enjoyment of that kind of life which others have

thought the happiest; and I concurred in opinion with them." Cyrus then asked, "Who is there that enjoys such a happy course of life?" "My own wife, Cyrus," said he; "for she shared equally with me in all good, soothing, and agreeable things; but in cares about the result of my present proceedings, and about wars and battles, she had no share. Thus, in my opinion, you provide for me as I provided for her whom I loved most of all human beings; so that I think I owe Apollo further tokens of gratitude." Cyrus, hearing him speak thus, admired his good humour; and ever after took him with him wherever he went, either from thinking that he was of service to him, or deeming it safest to do so. Thus then they went to rest.

III.—The next day Cyrus, calling together his friends and the officers of the army, directed some of them to receive the treasures, and others to select from amongst all the riches that Cræsus should deliver up, first, such portions for the gods as the Magi should direct, and then to take the rest, and putting it into chests, place it on the waggons; and so, distributing the waggons among them by lot, to carry it with them wherever they went, that, when opportunity served, they might receive each his due share. The officers acted accordingly.

Cyrus, then, calling to some of his attendants



that were at hand, "Tell me," said he, "has any one of you seen Abradatas? for I wonder that he, who used to come so often to us before, is now nowhere to be seen." One of the attendants replied, "He is no longer alive, O king, but died in the battle as he was charging with his chariot upon the Egyptians. All the rest, they say, except his particular companions, turned aside, when they saw the dense mass of the Egyptians. His wife is now said to have taken up his dead body, to have placed it in her own carriage in which she rode, and to have brought it hither to some place by the river Pactolus; and they state that her eunuchs and servants are digging a grave for the deceased upon a certain hill. They also say that his wife, after having decked him with such ornaments as she had, is sitting upon the ground with his head upon her knees." Cyrus, hearing this account, struck his thigh, sprung upon his horse immediately, and, taking with him a thousand cavalry, rode away to the scene of affliction. He directed Gadatas and Gobryas, at the same time, to bring whatever ornaments they could, suitable for a deceased friend and man of worth, and to follow him; and he ordered the officer, who had the charge of the cattle that followed the army, to drive both oxen and horses, and a large number of sheep, to the place where they should discover him to be, that

they might be sacrificed in honour of Abardatas.

When he saw the woman sitting upon the ground, and the dead body lying by her, he shed tears at the afflicting sight, and said, "Alas! thou brave and faithful soul! hast thou then left us?" At the same time, he took him by the right hand, and the hand of the deceased came away, for it had been cut off with a sword by the Egyptians. He, at sight of this, was still more grieved; while the woman uttered a shriek, and, taking the hand from Cyrus, kissed it, fitted it to its proper place again, as well as she could, and said, "The rest of the body, Cyrus, is in the same condition; but why should you see it? And I know that he has met this fate, in no small degree, through my means, and perhaps not less, Cyrus, through yours; for I, fool that I was! exhorted him earnestly to act in such a manner that he might appear to you a friend worthy of esteem; and he himself, I know, never thought of what he should suffer, but what he could do to please you. He died, therefore," she added, "without reproach, and I, who encouraged him, sit here alive!" Cyrus wept for some time in silence, and then said, "He has died, O woman, a most honourable death, for he has died victorious! You, receiving these ornaments from me, adorn him with them (Gobryas and Gadatas had now come up,

bringing abundance of rich decorations); and," continued he, "be assured that he shall not want honour in other respects; numbers of men shall raise him a monument worthy of us; and such sacrifices shall be offered in his honour as are suitable for a brave man. You," added he, "shall not be left destitute, but I, for the sake of your modesty and every other virtue, will pay you honour in other ways, and will also place with you one who shall convey you wherever you please; only make it known to me to whom you desire to be conveyed." Panthea replied, "Be of good courage, Cyrus; I will not conceal from you to whom I desire to go."

Having said this, he went away, feeling great pity for the woman, that she should have lost such a husband, and for the man, that he should have left such a wife, never to see her more. Panthea then desired her eunuchs to retire, "until," said she, "I have lamented my husband as I wish." Her nurse she requested to stay, and charged her, when she was dead, to wrap her and her husband in one garment. The nurse, after having repeatedly begged her not to act thus, but making no impression on her, and seeing that she was growing angry, sat down weeping. Panthea, having before provided herself with a sword, stabbed herself, and laying her head upon her husband's breast, died.



The nurse uttered a lamentable cry, and covered them both as Panthea had directed.

Cyrus, when he heard what the woman had done, was struck with grief, and hastened to see if he could be of any service. The eunuchs, three in number, as soon as they saw what had occurred, drew their swords and killed themselves, standing, at the time, where she had ordered them. [The monument is said to have been formed of a mound extending to the place where the eunuchs fell; upon the pillar above, they say, the names of the man and woman are inscribed in Assyrian characters; below, they relate that there are three pillars, and that they are inscribed, OF THE EUNUCHS.]<sup>9</sup> Cyrus, as he approached the scene of death, was struck with admiration of the woman, and went away, lamenting her fate. He attended, as was proper, to the dead, that they might receive every honour; and the monument, as they say, was raised to a very great height.

IV.—Soon after, the Carians, dividing into factions, and going to war with one another, both parties, as they had their abodes in places of strength,<sup>1</sup> called for the interference of Cy-

<sup>9</sup> There is much doubt respecting the genuineness of the original of the passage in brackets; perhaps it may be only out of place, and have been corrupted in transcription.

<sup>1</sup> Their fortresses seem to have been nearly equal in strength; so that neither party could get the better of the other.

rus. Cyrus, still remaining at Sardes, prepared engines and battering-rams to demolish the walls of those that should refuse to submit; and sent Adusius, a Persian, a man not incompetent in other respects, or unskilled in war, and of very agreeable manners, into Caria, assigning him a body of troops; and the Cilicians and Cyprians very readily joined him in the expedition; in consideration of which service he never sent a Persian as governor over the Cilicians or Cyprians, as their native princes satisfied him; he, however, received tribute from them, and required them to furnish troops whenever he needed them. Adusius, at the head of his force, advanced into Caria; and deputies from both parties of the Carians came to him, ready to admit him into their fortresses to the detriment of their opponents.

Adusius acted towards both parties in the following manner. With whichever side he conferred, he told them that they advanced more reasonable arguments than their adversaries, and that they must conceal from their antagonists that he and they had become friends, as he would thus be better able to surprise their adversaries unprepared. He thought it right that pledges of faith should be given, and that the Carians should swear that they would admit him and his people into their fortresses without treachery, and for the benefit of

Cyrus and the Persians; and that he himself should swear to enter their fortresses without treachery, and for the benefit of those that admitted him. Having done this, he arranged with both parties, each without the knowledge of the other, to admit him the same night; and, during that night, he hastily entered within their walls, and possessed himself of the fortifications of both. When day came, he took a position between them, with his troops about him, and summoned the proper persons on both sides to attend; who, when they saw each other, were indignant, thinking themselves deceived on both sides. Adusius, however, addressed them to this effect: "I swore to you, men of Caria, that I would, without treachery, enter your fortifications, for the benefit of those that admitted me; if therefore I shall cut off either party, I shall think that I have effected this entrance to the damage of the Carians; but if I establish peace between you, and security for both parties to cultivate their lands, I shall consider I am come for your benefit. From this day, therefore, it is for you to join in intercourse with each other in a friendly manner, to cultivate your lands without fear, to give and receive each other's daughters in marriage; and if any attempt, contrary to these regulations, to do wrong to others, Cyrus and we will be their enemies." In consequence, the gates of



the fortresses were thrown open, the roads were filled with people going to meet one another, and the fields were covered with labourers; they celebrated festivals in common, and all was full of peace and cheerfulness.

At this time there came messengers from Cyrus, to inquire whether he wanted either a reinforcement or engines. Adusius replied, "That he was at liberty to use even his present forces elsewhere." And, at the same time that he said this, he led the body of his troops away, leaving garrisons in the fortresses. The Carians entreated him to stay, and, upon his refusal, they sent to Cyrus, requesting him to send Adusius to them as their governor.

Cyrus, meanwhile, had sent Hystaspes away with an army to Phrygia on the Hellespont; and, when Adusius arrived, he ordered him to follow with his army in the way that Hystaspes was gone before, that the Phrygians might more readily submit to Hystaspes, when they heard that there was another army marching towards them. The Greeks, that dwelt upon the sea-coast, obtained, by making many presents, exemption from admitting the Barbarians within their walls, but engaged to pay a tribute, and serve in the field wherever Cyrus should command them. The king of Phrygia strengthened himself, as intending to keep possession of his fortresses, and not to submit, and sent word to

that effect. But when the commanders under him revolted from him, and he was altogether deserted, he at last surrendered to Hystaspes, on the understanding that he should submit to the judgment of Cyrus. Hystaspes, leaving strong Persian garrisons in the forts, went away, and, together with his own men, carried off considerable numbers of the Phrygians, both cavalry and peltasts. Cyrus sent orders to Adusius to join Hystaspes, and to bring with him such of the Phrygians as had taken his side, with their arms; but from such as had shown an inclination to fight, to take away both their horses and arms, and oblige them all to attend the army with slings. Adusius and Hystaspes acted according to his orders.

Cyrus then set forward from Sardes, leaving there a numerous garrison of infantry, and taking with him Cræsus, and a great many waggons loaded with abundance of valuable property of every kind. Cræsus brought him an exact account in writing of what was in each waggon, and, delivering the writings to Cyrus, said, "By having these, Cyrus, you will know who delivers correctly the things that he conveys, and who does not." Cyrus said, "You have done well, Cræsus, in taking this forethought; however, those will convey the treasures for me, who are also worthy to possess them; so that if they embezzle any of them, they

will embezzle what belongs to themselves." As he spoke thus, he delivered the writings to his friends and officers, that they might know which of those who had charge of the property delivered it to them safe, and which of them did not. He also took with him, under arms, such of the Lydians as he saw equipping themselves handsomely with arms, horses, and chariots, and using all their endeavours to do what they thought would please him; but the horses of such as he saw follow him with dissatisfaction, he gave to the Persians that first took the field with him, and burned their arms; and these also he obliged to attend the army with slings. Indeed, all those that he disarmed, of the several nations that became subject to him, he obliged to practise the sling, regarding it as quite a servile weapon: for slingers, in conjunction with other forces, may sometimes be of very great use; but an army consisting wholly of slingers would not, by themselves, withstand a very small force coming upon them with weapons for close combat.

In his march to Babylon he subdued the Phrygians of Greater Phrygia; he subdued also the Cappadocians, and reduced the Arabians to submission. Out of all these he made up not less than forty thousand Persian horsemen;<sup>2</sup> and many of the horses, that belonged to the

<sup>2</sup> That is, horsemen armed after the Persian manner.



prisoners, he distributed amongst the body of his allies. He arrived at Babylon, with a vast number of cavalry, a vast number of archers and javelin-men, and of slingers a countless multitude.

V.—When Cyrus reached Babylon, he ranged his whole army round the city, and then rode round it himself, with his friends, and the principal men of the allies. When he had taken a view of the walls, he prepared to draw off the army from before the city; and a deserter coming off, told him, that they intended to fall upon him when he was leading the army away. “For, as they surveyed it from the walls,” said he, “your line appeared to them to be but weak.” Nor was it strange that such was the case; for, as his men encompassed a great extent of wall, his line was, of necessity, of little depth. Cyrus, having heard this, took his stand in the centre of his army, with those that were about him, and gave orders that the heavy-armed men, drawing back their line from each extremity,<sup>3</sup> should move towards that part of the army that stood still, till each wing came over against himself and the centre. As they made this movement, those who kept their place

<sup>3</sup> Part of the men were drawn back from the wings, and ranged in the rear to deepen the line. The line would be tripled in depth by the movements here described.

felt more confidence, from being of double depth; and those that changed their place felt more confidence likewise, for they that stood were of course next to the enemy. When, moving thus from each wing, they had united the extremities, they stood their ground with much more firmness; those who had altered their position by reason of those in front, and those in front by reason of those who had come up behind them; and as the line was thus drawn back, the best soldiers were necessarily in the front and rear, while the worst were ranged in the middle.<sup>4</sup> A disposition of this kind seemed to be well adapted both for fighting and to prevent flight; and the horse and light-armed men from the wings came up always so much nearer the commander-in-chief as the line became less extended by being doubled in depth. When they were thus collected together, they retreated, as long as weapons could reach them from the walls, with their face toward the enemy; but when they were out of the reach of the weapons, they wheeled about, and moving forward at first but a few steps, wheeled again to the left, and halted facing the walls; and the

<sup>4</sup> We are to suppose, it would seem, that in the line of troops drawn round the city, the best men were posted in front. When the wings drew back, and passed behind the front, a portion of the best men would then be thrown into the rear; and from what Xenophon says here, we must conceive that they were sent rearmost of all, behind the inferior troops.

farther they drew off, the less frequently they faced about; and when they thought themselves safe, they marched off without stopping till they reached their tents.

When they had encamped, Cyrus summoned to him the principal officers, and said, "Friends and allies, we have taken a view of the city round about, and I am unable to see how any enemy can take walls of such strength and height by assault. But the greater the number of men in the city is, so much the sooner, (since they do not come out to fight,) I conceive that they may be reduced by famine. Unless you have some other method to propose, therefore, I think that the people must be besieged and taken by that means." Chrysantas then said, "Does not this river, that is above two stadia in breadth, run through the midst of the city?" "Yes, indeed," said Gobryas, "and is of so great a depth, that two men, one standing upon the other, would not reach above the water; so that the city is still better defended by the river than by its walls." Cyrus then said, "Chrysantas, let us think no more of what is beyond our power;<sup>5</sup> it must be our business, as soon as possible, to dig as broad and as deep a trench as we can, measuring out the proper portion for each division, so that we may want the fewer men to keep guard."

<sup>5</sup> Let us make no attempt to ford the river.



Measuring out, accordingly, the ground around the wall, and leaving a space by the side of the river sufficient to hold large towers, he dug on each side of the wall a very deep trench, and the men threw up the earth towards themselves.<sup>6</sup> He then, in the first place, built towers upon the bank of the river, laying their foundation with palm-trees not less than a hundred feet in length; for there are some that grow even to a yet greater length; and palm-trees that are pressed by a weight, bend up under it,<sup>7</sup> like asses used to carrying loads. He placed these below, with this object, that he might make it appear, as much as possible, that he was preparing to blockade the city, and in order that, if the river forced its way into the ditch, it might not carry off the towers. He raised likewise a great many other towers upon the earth which was thrown up, that he might have as many places as possible for stationing men on guard. Thus the troops of Cyrus employed themselves. But those who were on the walls laughed at this blockade, as being furnished with provisions for more than twenty years. Cyrus, hearing this, divided his army into twelve parts, as if he in-

<sup>6</sup> The men threw up the earth on that side of the trench which was towards their own camp, not on that side which was towards the city.

<sup>7</sup> This quality in the wood of the palm-tree is also mentioned by Theophrastus.

tended that each part should keep guard one month in the year. When the Babylonians heard this, they laughed yet more than before; reflecting that Phrygians, Lydians, Arabians, and Cappadocians were to keep guard over them, men who were better affected to them than to the Persians.

The trenches were now dug; and Cyrus, when he heard that there was a festival in Babylon, in which all the Babylonians drank and revelled the whole night, took, during the time of it, a number of men with him, and, as soon as it was dark, opened the trenches on the side towards the river. When this was done, the water ran off in the night into the trenches, and the bed of the river through the city allowed men to walk along it. When the river was thus prepared, Cyrus gave orders to the Persian captains of thousands, of infantry and cavalry, to attend him, each with his thousand drawn up two abreast, and the rest of the allies to follow in the rear, ranged as they used to be before. They accordingly came; and he, causing those that attended his person, both foot and horse, to go down into the dry channel of the river, ordered them to try whether the bed of the river was passable. When they reported that it was passable, he called together the officers both of infantry and cavalry, and spoke to them as follows;

“The river, my friends, has yielded us a passage into the city; and let us boldly enter, fearing nothing within, but considering that these people, on whom we are now going to fall, are the same that we defeated when they had allies with them, and were all awake, sober, armed, and in order. We shall now fall upon them at a time when many of them are asleep, many intoxicated, and all in confusion; and when they discover that we are in the city, they will, by reason of their consternation, be yet more unfit for service than they are now. But if any one apprehend, (what is said to be terrible to those that enter a city,) lest, mounting to the tops of their houses, they throw down missiles upon us from every side, be quite at ease as to this point; for, if any of them climb upon the houses, we have the god Vulcan to fight on our side; their porches are easily set on fire, their doors are made of the palm tree, and anointed over with bitumen, a most combustible material. We have torches in abundance, that will presently take fire; we have plenty of pitch and tow, that will soon raise a strong flame; so that the people must, of necessity, flee from their houses at once, or at once be burnt. Come then; take your arms, and, with the help of the gods, I will lead you on. You, Gobryas and Gadatas,” added he, “show us the ways; for you are acquainted with them, and, when we are in, con-



duct us by the readiest approach to the palace.” “Indeed,” said they that were with Gobryas, “it would not be at all wonderful if the doors of the palace were open, for the whole city seems to-night to be in a revel; but we shall meet with a guard in front of the gates, for there is always one placed there.” “We must not then be remiss,” said Cyrus, “but march, that we surprise them as little prepared as possible.”

As soon as these words were spoken, they went forward; and, of those that met them, some were struck down and killed, some fled, and some raised a shout. They that were with Gobryas joined in the shout with them, as if they were revellers themselves, and, marching on the shortest way that they could, arrived at the palace. Those who attended Gadatas and Gobryas, found the doors of the palace shut; those who were appointed to attack the guards, fell upon them, as they were drinking at a large fire, and dealt with them as with enemies. As a great clamour and noise ensued, those who were within heard the tumult, and as the king ordered them to see what was the matter, some of them threw open the gates and rushed out. Those who were with Gadatas, as soon as they saw the gates unclosed, burst in, and pursuing those who fled, and dealing blows amongst them, came up to the king, and found him in a stand-

ing posture with his sword drawn. The party of Gadatas and Gobryas, being numerous, mastered him; those who were with him were killed, one holding up something before him, another fleeing, and another defending himself in whatever way he could. Cyrus sent troops of horse through the streets, bidding them kill those that they found abroad, and ordering some, who understood the Assyrian language, to tell those who were in the houses to remain within, and to say that, if any were found abroad, they would be killed. These directions they obeyed. Gadatas and Gobryas now came up, who first paid their adoration to the gods, because they had taken revenge upon their impious king, and then kissed the hands and feet of Cyrus, shedding many tears in the midst of their joy and satisfaction.

When day came, and they that held the towers of the city perceived that the place was taken and the king dead, they gave up the towers. Cyrus immediately took possession of them, and sent commanders, with garrisons, into them. He gave up the dead to their relatives to bury, and ordered heralds to make proclamation, that all the Babylonians should bring out their arms, and gave notice, at the same time, that in whatever house any arms should be found, all the people in it should be put to death. They accordingly brought out their arms, and Cyrus

had them deposited in the towers, that they might be ready, if he should ever want to use them.

When these matters had been settled, he first summoned the Magi, and directed them to select the first-fruits of the spoil for the gods, with certain portions of ground for sacred use, as from a city taken by the sword. He next distributed houses and palaces to those whom he regarded as sharers with him in what had been performed. He made the assignments in the manner that had been determined, the best things to the most deserving; and if any thought that they had less than they merited, he desired them to come and state their case to him. He gave notice to the Babylonians to cultivate their land, to pay their tribute, and to serve those under whom they were placed. The Persians, who shared with him in everything, and such of the allies as chose to remain with him, he ordered to communicate with those whom they took under them as masters.

Soon after, Cyrus, desiring now to make such arrangements for himself as he thought becoming a king, resolved to effect his object with the concurrence of his friends; his intention being to appear in public rarely and with dignity, yet so as to incur as little unpopularity as possible. He took his measures, therefore, in the following manner. Taking his station, in the morn-



ing, in some place which he thought eligible, he received any one that wished to speak with him, and, after giving him his answer, dismissed him. The people, as soon as they knew that he would receive them, resorted to the place in unmanageable multitudes, and there was a great strife and contention among them as they struggled to effect an approach; while the attendants, making distinctions as well as they could, let them in. When any of his friends, having pushed their way through the crowd, appeared before him, Cyrus, holding out his hand, drew them to him, and spoke to them thus: "Wait here, my friends, till we have despatched the crowd, and then we will confer at leisure." His friends accordingly waited, and the crowd flocked in more and more, till the evening came before he was at leisure to speak to his friends. Cyrus then said, "Now, my friends, it is time to separate; come again to-morrow morning, for I wish to have some conversation with you." His friends, hearing this, hurried off with great satisfaction, having long suffered from all the wants of nature. Thus then they went to rest.

The next day Cyrus attended at the same place; and a much greater multitude of people, that were desirous to approach him, stood round about, attending much earlier than his friends. Cyrus, therefore, forming a large circle of Persian spear-men, bid them let none pass but his

friends, and the generals of the Persians and allies. When these were met, he spoke to them to this effect:

“Friends and allies, we have nothing that we can lay to the charge of the gods, as not having hitherto effected whatever we wished. But if the performance of great actions be attended with such consequences, that a person cannot obtain a little leisure for himself, or enjoy the company of his friends, I bid farewell to such good fortune. You observed,” continued he, “yesterday, that, beginning in the morning to give audience to those that came, we did not make an end before the evening; and now you see those and others, more numerous than those who attended yesterday, are here ready to give us trouble. If I submit myself, therefore, to these calls, I imagine that a very small part of me will fall to your share, and a very small part of you to mine; and of myself, I know very well that I shall have no share at all. Besides,” added he, “there is another ridiculous thing that I observe. I stand affected to you as it is natural that I should; but, of those that stand here around, I know one or two, or, perhaps, none; and these men range themselves in such a manner, as if they expected that if they can but get the better of you by pushing, they will obtain what they desire from me sooner than you will. But I should think it right that such per-

sons, if any of them want anything of me, should make their court to you that are my friends, and ask for an introduction. Somebody, however, may ask, perhaps, 'Why I did not arrange matters thus from the beginning, but devoted myself in common to all?' I answer, Because I knew that the affairs of war are of such a nature, that a commander ought not to be the last to know what is proper to be known, or to execute what occasion may require; and I believed that such commanders, as were seldom to be seen, omitted many things that ought to be done. But, since this most laborious war has now ceased, my own mind seems to me to require some rest. As I am at a loss, therefore, what to do, that our own affairs and those of others, of whom we ought to take care, may be regulated in the best manner, let some one recommend to us what he thinks most advantageous."

Thus spoke Cyrus; and Artabazus, he who had once said that he was his relation, rose up after him and said, "You have done well, Cyrus, in entering on this subject; for, while you were yet very young, I conceived an earnest desire to become your friend, but seeing that you were not at all in want of me, I felt great reluctance to seek your notice. But when you happened once to want me, to convey promptly the orders of Cyaxares to the Medes, I con-



ceived that, if I performed this service for you with zeal, I should become your intimate friend, and have liberty to converse with you as long as I pleased. The service was indeed executed in such a way that you gave me your commendation. But soon after the Hyrcanians (first of all) became our friends, when indeed we were much in want of supporters; so that, in our love for them, we almost carried them about in our arms. Afterwards, when the enemy's camp was taken, you had no leisure, I imagine, to concern yourself about me; and I excused you. Soon after, Gobryas became your friend, and I was rejoiced that it was so; then Gadatas also; and it now became a downright labour to gain any share of your attention. When again the Sacians and Cadusians became your allies, it was justly your part to make much of them, for they had made much of you. When we came back again to the place from whence we set out, I, seeing you occupied with your horses, your chariots, and your machines, thought that, when you were at leisure from all that business, you would then have leisure to attend to me. But when the terrible news came that all mankind were assembling against us, I supposed that this would be the decisive struggle; and, if things succeeded well, I thought myself sure that there would be abundance of opportunity for enjoying each other's company. We have

now fought the important battle, and conquered; we have Sardes and Cræsus in our power; we have taken Babylon; and have borne down all before us; and yet, by Mithras, yesterday, had not I made my way with my fist through the multitude, I had not been able to come near you; and, when you had taken me by the hand, and bid me stay by you, I then stood to be gazed at, for passing the whole day with you without either meat or drink. Now, therefore, if any means can be found, that we, who have deserved best of you, may have the greatest share of your company, it is well; if not, I would wish again to give orders from you that all should depart, excepting us, that have been your friends from the beginning."

At this speech Cyrus and many others laughed; and Chrysantas, the Persian, stood up and spoke thus: "Hitherto, Cyrus, you very properly presented yourself openly to all, both for reasons which you have yourself expressed, and because we were not the people that you were chiefly to court; for we attended for our own sakes; but your business was, by every method, to gain the multitude, that they might, with all possible satisfaction, be ready to undergo labours, and meet dangers with us. But, since you are now not only in circumstances to effect this object, but are able to acquire other friends for whom you may have occasion, it is

fit that you have a house yourself; or what enjoyment could you have in empire, if you were the only person destitute of a home, than which there is no place more sacred, more agreeable, or more dear to men? Besides," added he, "do you not think that we should be ashamed to see you enduring hardships abroad, while we ourselves should be in houses, and appear to have the advantage of you?" When Chrysantas had expressed this opinion, many more concurred with him in it.

Cyrus accordingly entered upon the possession of the palace, and those who had brought the treasures from Sardes delivered them up to him there. When Cyrus went in, he first sacrificed to the goddess Vesta, then to Jupiter the king, and to whatever other deity the Magi directed.

Having completed these proceedings, he now began to regulate other affairs; and reflecting what his object was, and that he was taking upon him the government of great multitudes of men; that he was preparing to fix his abode in the greatest city of all that were of note in the world, and that this city was as hostile to him as any city could be to a man, he, taking these things into his consideration, thought himself in want of a guard for his person; and well knowing that men are at no time so easy to be attacked as while they are eating, or drinking,



or bathing, or upon their bed, or asleep, he reflected with himself what sort of people he could have about him, who might be best trusted on such occasions; and he came to the conclusion, that no man could ever be trusted who should love another more than the person that wanted his protection. Such men, therefore as had sons or wives, that were agreeable to them, or youths that were objects of their affection, he deemed to be under a natural necessity of loving them best; but observing that eunuchs were destitute of all these ties, he thought that they would have the greatest affection for those that were able to enrich them the most, to vindicate them if they were wronged, and to bestow honours upon them; and he thought that no one could exceed himself in showing them kindness. In addition to these considerations, eunuchs, being objects of contempt to other men, are, for this reason, in want of a master to protect them; for there would be no man that would not think himself entitled to take advantage of a eunuch in everything, unless some superior power were to prevent him; but nothing hinders even a eunuch from being superior to all in fidelity to his master. What most people are inclined to think, that eunuchs are destitute of all vigour, did not appear to him to be the case, and he formed his opinion from other animals; for vicious horses, when they are castrated, give

over biting, indeed, and being spiteful, but are not at all the less fit for service in war; bulls, that are castrated, lose their fiery spirit and unruliness, but are not deprived of their strength and fitness for labour; dogs, likewise, when castrated, cease to desert their masters, but are not at all less fitted for watching and the chase; and men, also, being deprived of this desire, become more gentle, but are not less careful of things that are given them in charge, or at all worse horsemen, or less able to throw the javelin, or less desirous of honour; for they have shown, both in war and in hunting, that they still retain emulation in their minds. Of fidelity, on the fall of their masters, they have given the strongest proofs; for none have shown greater instances of attachment under the misfortunes of their masters than eunuchs. And if they be thought to lose something in bodily strength, arms are able to make the weak equal to the strong in the field of battle. Having adopted these opinions, he made all the attendant about his person, from the door-keepers upwards, eunuchs.

But, thinking that this was not a sufficient guard against the multitude of people that were disaffected towards him, he considered whom he should take from among all the rest to form the most faithful guard for him around the palace. Knowing, therefore, that the Persians,

while at home, were those that led the hardest of lives by reason of their poverty, and lived by the severest labour on account of the ruggedness of their country, and the necessity of working with their own hands, he thought that these would be the most pleased with that sort of life that they would lead with him. He selected from among them, therefore, ten thousand spear-men, who were to keep guard, night and day, round about the palace, when he was at home; and, when he went abroad, were to be his attendants, ranged in military order on each side of him. Thinking it necessary, too, that there should be a guard sufficient for the whole city of Babylon, whether he were present or absent, he established a strong garrison in Babylon, and obliged the Babylonians to furnish pay for it, wishing them to be as poor as possible, that they might be most humble and most easily managed. These guards, that were then established, about his own person and in Babylon, are maintained on the same footing to the present day.

Taking into his consideration, also, how his whole dominion might be maintained, and more added to it, he judged that these mercenaries<sup>8</sup> were not so much braver than the people subjected, as they were fewer in number,<sup>9</sup> and de-

<sup>8</sup> Those mentioned in the preceding section.

<sup>9</sup> Cyrus saw that the soldiers of the garrison, however brave



terminated, accordingly, that he ought to retain those brave men, who had, with the assistance of the gods, secured him victory, and to take care that they should not grow remiss in the exercise of valour. But that he might not seem to lay this as an obligation on them, but that they themselves, deeming such a course of conduct to be the best, might persevere in what was honourable, and cultivate it, he called together the Equals-in-honour, and all the superior officers, and such as appeared to him most worthy to share in his toils and gains; and, when they were met, he addressed them to this effect:

“My friends and allies, the greatest thanks are due to the gods, for having granted us to attain those things of which we thought ourselves worthy; for we are now masters of a large and valuable country, and of people who will maintain us by its cultivation. We have houses, and furniture in them; and let none of you imagine that, in possessing these things, he possesses what belongs to another; for it is a perpetual law amongst all men, that, when a city is taken from an enemy, both the persons and property of the inhabitants belong to the captors. You will not, therefore, possess what you have, unjustly; but, whatever you suffer

and trustworthy they might be, were yet so far outnumbered by the people in the city, that they could not put them down, if they raised a rebellion.

the people to retain, it will be from benevolence that you do not take it away. As to the time to come, my conviction is, that if we resign ourselves to indolence, and to the luxury of the vicious, who think labour to be the greatest misery, and to live without labour to be pleasure, we shall soon become of little value to ourselves, and shall soon lose all our advantages. For to have been once brave is not sufficient for continuing to be so, unless a man constantly keep that object in view. As other arts, when neglected, become of less worth; and as bodies in good condition, when we abandon them to inactivity, again become unhealthy; so prudence, temperance, and courage, when a man ceases to cultivate them, turn thenceforth again to vice. We ought not, therefore, to be remiss, nor to give ourselves up to present pleasure; for I think it a great thing to acquire dominion, but a yet greater to preserve it after having acquired it. For to acquire has often happened to him who has displayed nothing but boldness; but to preserve, after having acquired, is not effected without prudence, or without self-control, or without much care; and, knowing that such is the case, it behoves us to practise virtue much more now, than before we made these valuable acquisitions; being well assured, that, when a man has most in his possession, most people are then ready to envy him, to form

designs against him, and to become his enemies; especially if he hold possessions and service, as we do at present, from men against their wills. The gods, we ought to believe, will be with us; for we do not possess these dominions unjustly, from having formed iniquitous designs upon them, but, from having had designs formed against ourselves, have taken revenge. But we must secure for ourselves what is next best after this; which is, to think ourselves worthy to rule only by being better than those under our rule. In heat, therefore, and in cold, in meat and drink, in labours and sleep, we must, of necessity, allow our dependants a share; but, while we give them a share, we should first endeavour to appear their superiors in them.<sup>1</sup> In the knowledge and practice of military affairs, however, we must not allow any share at all to such as we wish to have as labourers and tributaries; but in exercises of this kind, we must preserve the ascendancy, feeling convinced that the gods have set these things before men, as the means of liberty and happiness. And as we have taken arms from others, so ought we never to be without arms ourselves; well knowing, that to those who have always their arms nearest at hand, what they desire is most at command.

<sup>1</sup> That is, we must endeavour to prove ourselves superior in enduring heat, cold, labour, and abstinence from meat, drink, and sleep.



“ If any one think thus within himself, ‘ What advantage is it to us to have effected what we desired, if we must still bear hunger and thirst, labour and application?’ he ought to learn, that good things give a man so much the more delight, as he has exerted the more labour beforehand to attain them; for labour gives a relish to all good things; and without desire in a person to obtain a thing, there is nothing that can be acquired at such expense as to be pleasant to him. If some divinity has assisted us in providing for ourselves those things that men most desire, and each individual of us will so order these things for himself as that they may appear most pleasant, he will, by acting thus, have so far the advantage of those who are less supplied with necessaries, that he will secure the most agreeable food when he is hungry, enjoy the most agreeable drink when he is thirsty, and, when he wants rest, experience the most agreeable sleep. For these reasons, I say, we must now be intent on acting as brave men, that we may enjoy our advantages in the best and most agreeable manner, and that we may not experience the most grievous of all things; for it is not so distressing not to have acquired advantages, as it is painful to be deprived of them after having acquired them. Consider, too, what pretence we can have to desire to be less meritorious than before. Is it because we hold

dominion? But it does not become a prince to be a worse character than those who are under his command. Or is it because we seem to be more prosperous now than before? But will any man say that vice is an ornament to prosperity? Or is it that, since we have gotten slaves, we shall punish them if they are vicious? But how does it become him that is himself vicious to punish others for vice and sloth? Consider further, that we are preparing to maintain numbers of men, as guards to our houses and persons; and how would it be otherwise than disgraceful to us, if we should think it becomes us to secure safety by means of others acting as guards, and should not act the part of guards to ourselves? You ought to be well assured, indeed, that there is no other guard so secure as for each of us to be honourable and brave. This persuasion must keep you company; for, with him who is destitute of virtue, nothing can go well. How then do I say that you should act? where practise virtue, and where apply to the exercise of it? I have nothing new, my friends, to tell you; but as, among the Persians, the Equals-in-honour pass their time about the courts, so, I say, it is our part, being all honoured here, to practise the same things that are practised there; and it behoves you, keeping your eyes upon me as you attend here, to observe if I continue studious of the

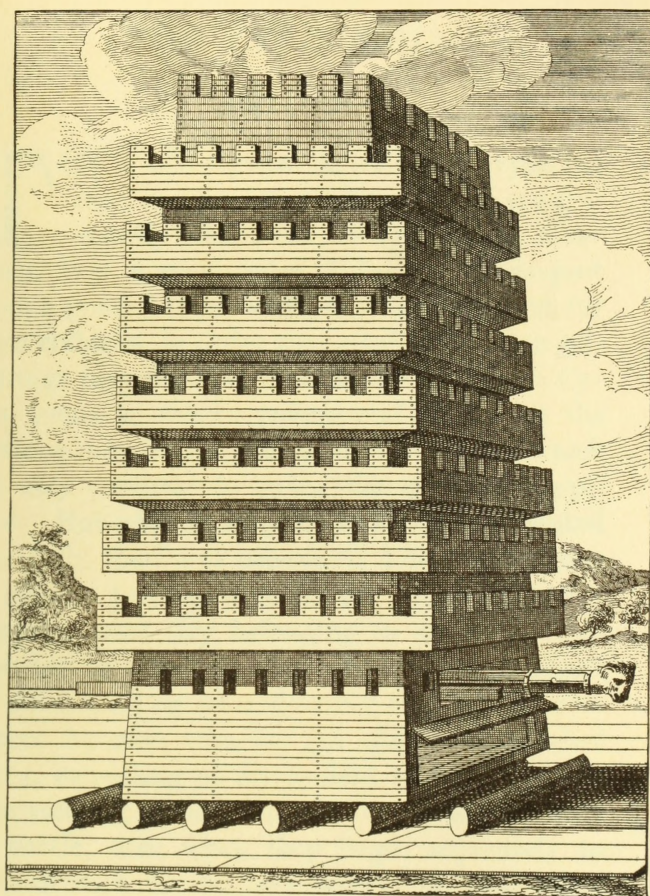
things of which I ought to be studious; while I shall keep my eyes intent upon you, and such as I see practising what is good and excellent, I shall reward. Our children, also, to whomsoever of us any shall be born, we may instruct here; for we ourselves shall be better men by being desirous to show ourselves as the best possible examples to our children; and our children will not easily become vicious, even though they incline to be so, when they neither see nor hear anything unbecoming, but pass their whole time in honourable and virtuous pursuits."



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**Besieging Tower with Galleries**

*Showing Rollers for Moving, and a Battering Ram in the Tower. After an Etching of the Eighteenth Century, now in the British Museum*



## THE CYROPÆDIA

### BOOK VIII

**T**HUS said Cyrus. After him Chrysantas rose, and spoke as follows: " I have frequently observed, my friends, at other times, that a good ruler differs in no respect from a good father; for fathers take thought for their children, in order that what is for their advantage may never be wanting to them; and Cyrus seems to me to recommend to us, on the present occasion, a course of conduct by which we may continue to enjoy the greatest happiness. But what he appears to me to have stated less fully than was necessary, I will endeavour to explain to those who are not aware of it; for consider what city belonging to an enemy can possibly be taken by men who are not obedient to command; or what friendly city can be preserved by men who are not obedient; or what army, consisting of disobedient soldiers, can obtain victory; or how can men be sooner defeated in battle, than when they begin separately to consult each for his own safety; or what other important object can be accomplished by such as do not submit to the direction of their superiors.



What cities can be governed according to laws? What families can be preserved? How do ships arrive at the place to which they are bound? By what other means have we obtained the advantages that we possess, more than by being obedient to our commander? By observing this duty, we have reached, by night and by day, the places to which we had to march; by following our commander in compact order, we have been irresistible; and of whatever has been commanded us, we have left nothing half-finished. If obedience to command, therefore, be of the greatest importance in order to the accomplishment of excellent objects, be assured that it is also of the greatest importance for preserving what is necessary for us to preserve. Hitherto most of us have had the command of none, but have been subject to the command of others; but now, all of you that are here present, are placed in such a condition that you have command, some over more, some over fewer. As you shall think it right, therefore, to rule those that are under you, so let us submit to those to whom it becomes us to submit. We ought so far to distinguish ourselves from slaves, that slaves do service to their masters against their wills; while it behoves us, if we desire to be free, to perform willingly what appears to be of the highest importance. And you will find," added he, "that even where a people are governed without mon-

archy, that state which is most willing to obey its rulers, is always least liable to the necessity of submitting to its enemies. Let us, therefore, attend at the palace as Cyrus directs; let us practise those things by which we may be best enabled to preserve what we ought to preserve; and let us submit ourselves to Cyrus, to employ us in whatever service he may think proper; for we ought to be well assured, that Cyrus can find nothing in which he will employ us for his own advantage, and not for ours, since the same things are profitable for us both, and we have both the same enemies."

When Chrysantas had spoken thus, many others, both of the Persians and allies, rose up to speak to the same effect; and it was determined, that the men of quality should attend, from time to time, at Cyrus's door, and offer themselves for his service, in whatever way he might think fit, till he himself should dismiss them; and as it was then determined, so also the people in Asia, that are under the king, continue to do to the present day, attending at the doors of their princes. And as it has been shown in this book how Cyrus established things, in order to secure dominion to himself and the Persians, so the kings who have succeeded him, continue to observe the same institutions to the present time. But it is the same with these regulations as with others; when there is a bet-

ter governor, the rules are observed more strictly, and when there is a worse, more negligently. The men of quality, therefore, attended at the gates of Cyrus with their horses and lances, as had been agreed by the chief of those who had assisted him in the overthrow of the Assyrian empire.

Cyrus next appointed different officers to attend to different affairs. He had his receivers of the revenues, his pay-masters, his overseers of works, keepers of his treasures, and persons to provide whatever was proper for his table. He appointed, as masters of his horses and dogs, such as he thought would maintain those animals in the best condition for his use. But as to those whom he thought fit to make joint guardians of his power, he himself took care, that they should be the most eligible persons possible, and did not assign the care of the selection to others, but considered it as peculiarly his own business. He knew that if ever he should have to fight a battle, it was from these that he must choose his staff and supporters, with whom the greatest dangers must be faced; he knew that from these he must appoint commanders of his infantry and cavalry; and if he should require generals to serve where he himself was not present, he knew that it was out of these they must be sent. Some of them he knew that he must employ as guardians and satraps



of cities and whole nations; and some of them must be sent as ambassadors, an office which he thought of the greatest consequence for obtaining what he might desire without war. If those, therefore, by whom the most important and most numerous affairs were to be conducted, should not be such as they ought to be, he thought that matters would go ill with him; but if they should be such as they ought to be, he expected that all would go well.

With such sentiments, he took this care upon him, and considered that the same exercise of virtue was to be observed by himself; for he thought it impossible for a man who was not himself such as he should be, to incite others to honourable and virtuous actions. As he made these reflections, he thought that leisure, in the first place, was necessary, if he would have it in his power to attend to affairs of the highest importance. He indeed thought he must not be negligent of his revenues; foreseeing that, in a great government, he must of necessity be at great expense; but, on the other hand, as his possessions were very great, he saw that to be always himself occupied about them would leave him no leisure to attend to the safety of the whole.

Meditating, accordingly, how the economy of his empire might be properly arranged, and he, at the same time, might have leisure, he began

to reflect on the order of an army. For as the captains of ten, in most matters, have the command of their several decads; the captains of twenty-five of the captains of ten; the captains of a thousand of the captains of twenty-five; and the captains of ten thousand of the captains of thousands; so that no one is left without superintendence, even if the army consists of very many myriads of men; and when the general wishes to employ the army on any service, it is sufficient if he gives his orders to the commanders of ten thousand; as these affairs, therefore, were regulated, Cyrus accordingly arranged under certain heads his civil affairs; so that he was enabled, by speaking with a few persons only, to keep every department of his affairs under superintendence; and he had consequently more leisure than another man, who had charge but of a single house or a single ship. Having thus arranged his own business, he taught those about him to adopt the same method.

In this manner he secured leisure both for himself and his ministers; and he then began to study that the participators of his cares should be such as they ought to be. In the first place, whoever were able to subsist by the labour of others, and did not attend at his gate, he inquired for them, believing that such as attended would not do anything base or dishonourable,

both by reason that they would be near their prince, and that, whatever they did, they would be observed by the most respectable men. Such as did not attend, he suspected of absenting themselves, either to indulge in some vicious passion, some unjust practices, or neglect of duties. We shall first, therefore, state how he obliged such men to attend. He would desire one of those about him, that were his chief friends, to take possession of what belonged to the person that did not attend, declaring that he was taking possession of his own property. When this was done, they that were dispossessed would immediately come to complain to him, as persons that had been wronged. Cyrus, for a long while, would not be at leisure to give such men a hearing; and, when he had heard them, would defer the decision of the matter for a long while. By acting thus, he expected to accustom them to pay their court to him, incurring, at the same time, less ill-will from them, than if he had himself forced them to attend, by inflicting punishments upon them. This was one of his modes of instruction to make men attend upon him. Another was to give those that attended such commissions as were most easy and most profitable. Another was, never to allow the absent a share in any advantage. But his chief method of compulsion was, if a man was regardless of any other, to take from him



what he had, and to give it to another that he thought would make it his business to attend on proper occasions. Thus he gained a useful friend, instead of a useless one; and the present king still makes inquiry if any one of those be absent whose duty it is to attend.

In this manner did he conduct himself to those who did not attend upon him: but those who afforded him their services he thought that he should best excite to honourable and virtuous actions, if, as he deemed himself rightfully their prince, he should endeavour to prove himself to those whom he governed the most accomplished of all men in virtue; for he felt convinced, indeed, that men were rendered better by written laws; but a good prince, he considered, was to men a living law, because he was able both to direct, to observe, and to punish, any one that misconducted himself.

Such being his judgment, he showed himself, in the first place, most anxious to discharge his duties to the gods, at the time when he was in the greatest prosperity; and it was then that the Magi were first established under him;<sup>1</sup> and he used to sing a hymn to the gods always at break of day, and to sacrifice every day to such deities as the Magi directed. The regulations

<sup>1</sup> Hitherto, during his expedition, Cyrus had consulted the priests either of the Persians or Medes, but he now received into his newly settled empire, and into his palace, the Magi who had been priests of the Medes.

that were thus instituted at that time are continued under the kings, as they succeed to the throne from time to time, to the present day. In these respects, accordingly, the other Persians were the first to follow his example, trusting that they should be the more fortunate, if they worshipped the gods as he did, who was the most fortunate of all, and their prince; and they thought that, by acting thus, they should please Cyrus. But Cyrus accounted the piety of those about him an advantage to himself; feeling like those who choose to undertake a voyage in company with men of piety, rather than with such as are thought to have been guilty of anything impious. He also considered, that, if all his associates were religious, they would be the less likely to commit any impiety towards each other, or towards him, who deemed himself the benefactor of such as shared his power. By manifesting, too, that he esteemed it of great importance to do no injury to any friend or ally, but to adhere strictly to justice, he thought that others would abstain the more from dishonourable gains, and would take care to acquire property only by just means. He was of opinion, moreover, that he should the better inspire other men with a sense of propriety, if he himself should appear to pay so great a respect to all, as never to say or do anything unbecoming. He conjectured that such would be the case from

*not much moralis-  
or religion in this*

the following consideration, that in regard not only to a prince, but even to such persons as men do not fear, they pay more respect to those that observe decency than to the shameless; and that to women, whom they see respect themselves, they more readily pay respect in turn. He thought also that a disposition to obedience would be the more firmly established in those about him, if he were seen to bestow greater rewards upon such as obeyed him without hesitation, than upon such as seemed to display the greatest and most laborious virtues. In this opinion, and in this practice, he always continued; and by showing modesty in his own conduct, he caused every one else to practise it the more readily; for when men see one, that has it most in his power to behave with insolence, conducting himself with modesty, those even of inferior rank are the more solicitous not to be seen doing anything insolent. He distinguished shame and natural modesty in this manner; that those who felt shame, avoided what was unbecoming while they were under observation, but that the naturally modest avoided it even in secret. He thought, likewise, that a command of the passions would be best practised, if he showed that he himself was not drawn away by present pleasures from the pursuit of what was right, and that he preferred labouring for a noble end before all delights. Observing, therefore, such



conduct himself, he established extreme good order among the inferior officers at his gates, (who readily submitted to their superiors,) and produced in them great respect and politeness of demeanour one towards another. You would not see any one there in anger, breaking out into loud clamour, or expressing pleasure with insulting laughter; but, as you looked on them, you would have thought that they lived in reality only with a view to the attainment of honour. In the practice and contemplation of such things they passed their days at the doors of Cyrus.

In order to inure them to exercises suitable for military men, he led out all those to hunt who, he thought, ought to take that exercise; considering this indisputably the best preparation for warlike employments, as well as the most efficient exercise in the art of riding; for it renders men, more than any other exercise, able to sit firm on horseback, in all sorts of ground, through pursuing the wild beasts in their flight; and it makes them, more than any other exercise, capable of acting on horseback, from their eagerness to gain commendation in it, and desire of taking their game. By this exercise he effectually accustomed his associates to be able to bear a restraint upon themselves, as well as toil, cold, heat, hunger, and thirst; and the king that now reigns, together

with those about him, continue still the same practice.

It is evident, therefore, from all that has been said, that he thought no one had any business with government, who was not himself better than those whom he governed; and that by thus exercising those about him, he inured himself, most of all, to self-command, and to military arts and exercises; for he led out others to hunt, when there was no necessity for him to stay at home; and, when there was such necessity, he used to hunt the beasts that were maintained in his parks. He never took his dinner till he had well exercised himself, nor did he ever allow food to be thrown to his horses before they were exercised; and he invited also the eunuchs with him to these hunting-matches. He himself, therefore, greatly excelled in all noble attainments, as did also those who were about him, by reason of their constant exercise. Such an example did he show himself to others; and, besides, whomsoever he saw the most zealous in the pursuit of what was honourable, he rewarded them with presents, with commands, the principal seats, and with all kinds of honours; so that he raised great emulation in all, to strive that each might appear to Cyrus most worthy of distinction.

We believe that we have also observed in the character of Cyrus, that he thought that princes

ought not to differ from those under their dominion, merely in being more accomplished than they, but that they ought even to impose upon them. He at least chose to wear the Median dress himself, and persuaded his associates to wear it; for, if a man had any defect in his person, this dress seemed to him adapted to conceal it, and to make the wearers appear extremely handsome and tall; for the Medes have a sort of shoe, into which they may easily and secretly fit something under their feet, so as to seem taller than they really are. He allowed them also to colour their eyes, that they might appear to have finer eyes than they really had, and to paint themselves, that they might appear of better complexions than they naturally were. He made it his care, likewise, that they should not be seen spitting, or blowing the nose, or turning aside to gaze at anything; as if they were men that admired nothing. All these things, he thought, tended in some degree to make them less likely to lose respect in the eyes of those under their authority.

Such as he thought worthy to govern, he, of himself, trained in this manner, both by exercise, and by presiding over them with dignity. But those whom he trained for servitude, he never incited to practise any liberal pursuit, or allowed them to possess arms, but took care that they should never go without their meat and



drink for the sake of such liberal exercises; for when, with the cavalry, they were to drive out the wild beasts into the plains, he ordered food to be carried to the chase for their use,<sup>2</sup> but not for any of the well-born. When he was on a march, he led them to water like beasts of burden, and when the time for dinner came, he used to wait till they had eaten something, that they might not suffer from excessive hunger. So that this class of people, as well as the nobles, called him their father, for taking care that, beyond all doubt, they should always continue slaves.<sup>3</sup>

He thus secured stability for the whole Persian empire; and he felt very confident that he himself was in no danger of suffering any harm from the conquered,<sup>4</sup> for he thought them spiritless, and saw that they were destitute of all order; and, besides, none of them ever came near him by night or day. But such as he observed to be of the better class, he saw armed and united; some of them he knew to be captains of horse, some of foot, and many of them he found to be possessed of such abilities as to be competent to govern; these associated much with his own

<sup>2</sup> It would have been foreign to the policy of Cyrus to have taught the servile class to endure privations equally with those of higher rank.

<sup>3</sup> An ironical observation of Xenophon.

<sup>4</sup> That is, those of the lower class, as appears from what follows.

guards, and many of them were frequently in company with himself, (for it was necessary that it should be so, if he were to make any use of them,) and from this sort of persons there was danger in the greatest degree that he might suffer harm in many ways. Meditating, therefore, how he might enjoy security also from these, he did not approve of taking away their arms and rendering them unfit for war, both deeming it unjust, and believing it would tend to a dissolution of his empire; but, on the other hand, not to admit them to his presence, and to appear openly distrustful of them, he thought likely to prove the commencement of an insurrection. Instead of any of these expedients, there was one that he thought to be most for his security, and most honourable of all, which was, to try if he could make the nobles more friendly to himself than to one another. By what means, then, he appears to me to have come to be loved, I will endeavour to relate.

II.—In the first place, he displayed, on all occasions, as much as he could, a humanity of feeling; reflecting that, as it is not easy for men to love those who seem to hate them, or to bear good-will to the ill-intentioned, so those that were known to love and bear good-will, could not be hated by such as thought themselves be-

loved by them. Whilst, therefore, he had not so much power<sup>5</sup> to bestow benefits in money, he endeavoured to gain friendship by taking forethought for those about him, by appearing pleased at their successes, and concerned at their misfortunes; but when he had the means of gratifying his friends with presents, he seems to me to have been well aware that there is no kindness interchanged by men with one another, at the same expense, more acceptable than that of sharing meat and drink with them.

Being of this opinion, he first appointed, with regard to his table, that of whatever dishes he ate, a number of dishes similar to these, sufficient for several persons, should always be set before him; and all that was placed on the table, except what himself and his guests consumed, he distributed to those of his friends of whom he wished to testify remembrance or love. He sent portions also to those with whose conduct he happened to be pleased, whether on guard, in attendance on himself, or in whatever other employments; thus signifying, that those who were desirous to please him, could not escape his notice. He paid the same honour from his table to his own domestics, when he was inclined to praise any one of them; and he had all the food of his domestics placed upon his

<sup>5</sup> Before he had made his great conquest of Sardis and Babylon.



own table, thinking that this practice would inspire them, like dogs, with a certain attachment to him. If he wished any one of his friends to be courted by many people, he sent him presents from his table; for, even to this day, all pay greater court to those to whom they see presents sent from the king's table, regarding them as men in great honour, and capable of effecting for them whatever they may want. Nor is it on these accounts only, that have been mentioned, that the things sent from the king are pleasing, but dishes that come from the king's table are in reality superior in flavour; and it is not at all wonderful that such is the case; for as other arts, in great cities, are brought to a high degree of excellence, so the meats on the king's table are dressed in the best possible manner. In small towns, the same man makes a couch, a door, a plough, and a table; and frequently the same person is a builder too, and is very well content if he can thus find customers enough to maintain him; and it is impossible for a man who works at many things to do them all well; but, in great cities, because there are numbers that want each particular thing, one art alone suffices for the maintenance of each individual; and frequently indeed, not an entire art, but one man makes shoes for men, and another for women; sometimes it happens, that one gets a maintenance merely by stitching

Plato

Ford

shoes, another by cutting them out, another by cutting out upper-leathers only, and another by doing none of these things, but simply putting together the pieces. He, therefore, that is employed in a work of the smallest compass, must, of necessity, do it best. Matters relating to the table are in the very same case; for he that has the same man to spread the couches, to set out the table, to knead the dough, to dress sometimes one dish, and sometimes another, must necessarily, I think, fare in each particular as it may happen; but where there is employment enough for one man to boil meat, for another to roast it, for one to boil fish, for another to broil it, and for another to make bread, (and that not of every sort either, but it is enough for him to furnish one sort good,) each man, in my opinion, must of necessity bring the things that are thus made to very great perfection. Cyrus therefore, by such means, greatly exceeded all other people in making presents of dishes from his table.

How he excelled in attaching men to him by every other means, I will now proceed to relate. As he far exceeded other men in the greatness of his revenues, he exceeded them still more in the multitude of his presents. Cyrus, therefore, began this custom; and the practice of making abundance of presents continues, to this day, among the Persian kings. Who is known to have

richer friends than the king of Persia? Who is known to adorn those about him with finer habits than that monarch? Whose presents are known to be like some of those bestowed by this king, bracelets, collars, and horses with bits of gold? for no one there is allowed to possess such things but he to whom the king gives them. What other man can be said to make himself preferred before brothers, before fathers, before children, by the greatness of his presents? What other man has such power to chastise his enemies, that are distant from him many months' journey, as the Persian king has? What other man but Cyrus, after having overturned an empire, ever died with the title of FATHER from the people whom he had brought under his power? For it is plain that this is a name for one that bestows rather than for one that takes away.

We understand, too, that he gained those men that are called the eyes and the ears of the king, by no other means, than by bestowing presents and honours upon them; for, by being very bountiful to such as told him what was proper for him to know, he caused numbers of people to watch both with ears and eyes, to find something to report by which they might gratify the king. The eyes of the king were accordingly thought very numerous, and his ears equally numerous. But if any one thinks that



one person only should be chosen by the king as his eye, he judges erroneously; for one man would see but few things, and one man would hear but few; and, if such charge were given to one only, it would be as if others were ordered to neglect it; besides, whomsoever people knew to be this eye, they would be aware that they must be on their guard against him. But such is not the case; for the king gives audience to every one that says he has heard or seen anything worth his attention. Thus the ears and eyes of the king appear to be very many; and people are everywhere afraid of saying anything offensive to the king, just as if he himself could hear them; and of doing anything offensive, just as if he himself were present. Not only, therefore, did no one dare to say anything unfavourable of Cyrus to anybody, but every one felt as if he was always amidst the eyes and ears of the king perpetually attending him.

For this disposition of men towards him, I know not what cause we can better assign, than that he desired to bestow great benefits in return for small ones. Nor is it to be wondered at, that he, who was the richest of all, should exceed all in the greatness of his presents; but that one holding royal dignity should exceed others in service and attention to his friends, is more worthy of record. He is said to have been evidently ashamed of nothing so much as

of being outdone in serving his friends, and a saying of his is recorded, signifying, "That the business of a good herdsman and that of a good king were similar; for a herdsman," he said, "ought to keep the herd in happiness, such as the happiness of cattle can be, while using them, and that a king ought, in like manner, to make cities and men happy, while making use of them." It is no wonder, therefore, if such were his sentiments, that he had an ambition to surpass all other people in doing service to men.

Cyrus is said to have given the following excellent lesson to Cræsus, on a certain occasion when Cræsus suggested to him that, by making so many presents, he would become poor, while it was in his power to lay up at home vast treasures of gold for the use of himself individually. It is said that Cyrus then asked him, "What sums do you think I should now have in my possession, if I had been hoarding up gold, as you bid me, ever since I have been in power?" That Cræsus, in reply, named some large sum; and that Cyrus rejoined, "Well, Cræsus, send, with Hystaspes here, some person in whom you have full confidence; and you, Hystaspes," added he, "go round among my friends, tell them that I am in want of money for a certain object, (and, in reality, I am in want of some,) and bid them supply me with as much as they respectively can, writing down the sum, sealing

up the writing, and giving it to Cræsus's officer to bring to me." Then, writing down what he had said, and sealing it, he gave it to Hystaspes to carry to his friends, adding in the letter to them all, "That they should receive Hystaspes as his friend." After he had gone round, and Cræsus's officer brought the letters, Hystaspes said, "O Cyrus, my king, you must now treat me as a rich man, for I come to you with many gifts in consequence of your letter." "This then," said Cyrus, "is one treasury for me,<sup>6</sup> Cræsus; but look over the others, and count up what money is ready for me, if I want to use it." Cræsus, upon calculation, is said to have found many times the sum that he told Cyrus he might now have had in his treasury, if he had hoarded. Such being plainly the case, Cyrus is reported to have said:

"You see, Cræsus, that I have my treasures too; but you bid me hoard them up in my own possession, to be envied and hated for them, and to set hired guards over them, and trust in them; but by making my friends rich, I consider them as my treasures, and as guards both to myself and to all things of value that belong to us, and more trust-worthy ones than if I were to appoint a guard of hirelings. I will also tell you another thing; I am not able to get the better of that passion which the gods have put into the minds of men, and thus made them all

<sup>6</sup> Meaning Hystaspes.



equally poor, but am, like other men, insatiably desirous of wealth; I seem, however, to differ from most men in this respect; that they, when they have acquired more goods than are sufficient for them, bury some of them in the ground, allow some to go to decay, and take great trouble about other portions, counting, measuring, weighing, airing, and watching them, and yet, though they have so many things in their houses, they neither eat more than they are able to bear, for they would then burst, nor put on more clothes than they can bear, for they would then be suffocated, but have all their superfluous riches only as so much trouble; whereas, I serve the gods, and am very desirous of getting more; but when I have got it, whatever I find to be more than suffices me, I satisfy the wants of my friends, with it, and, by enriching and benefiting other men with it, I gain their good-will and their friendship, from which I enjoy security and glory, things that do not decay, and do not injure by over-abundance; but glory, the more of it there is, the greater and more noble is it, and the lighter to bear, and it often makes those that bear it lighter. That you may be convinced of this, Cræsus," said he, "I do not consider those who possess most, and keep guard over most, to be the happiest men; for then guards upon the walls would be the happiest of all men, since they have the cus-

tody of all that there is in whole cities; but I count him the happiest man, who acquires the most with strict regard to justice, and who uses the most with honour." Such maxims he evidently practised, in conformity with his words.

Having, besides, observed that most men, if they enjoy uninterrupted health, take care to have everything in accordance with it, and lay up what is adapted for the course of life of men in health, while he saw that they were by no means solicitous how they should have necessities if they fell sick, he thought proper to provide himself with such matters also, and collected round him, through willingness to bear the expense, the very best physicians; and whatever instruments, medicines, meats, or drinks, any one of them told him would be of use, there was not one of them that he did not provide for himself, and treasure up. And when any of those, of whom it was proper for him to take care, fell ill, he went to see them, and furnished them with whatever they wanted; and was thankful to the physicians whenever they wrought a cure on any one, and took the things with which they effected it from his store. These and many other such methods did he contrive, in order to gain the principal place in the affection of those by whom he desired to be beloved.

The things, also, in which he appointed games, and offered prizes, from a desire to raise an emulation in men with regard to noble and beneficial objects, gained Cyrus the applause of being solicitous that what was honourable should be kept in practice. These games indeed created among the nobles a mutual strife and emulation; and besides, Cyrus established as a law, that in whatever required adjudication, whether it were a matter of right, or a dispute relating to games, the parties requiring such decision should have joint recourse to certain judges; and it is plain that both the parties at variance would aim at obtaining such judges as were the best, and most friendly to them; and that he who lost his cause, would envy him that gained it, and hate the judges that did not pronounce in favour of himself; while he that gained his cause would attribute his success to the justice of it, so that he would consider he owed nobody any thanks. Those, too, who wished to have the first place in the friendship of Cyrus, were, like others in cities, envious of each other, so that most of them rather wished one another out of the way, than sought to act in concert together for any good to each other. These things make it evident by what means he made all the eminent men more friendly towards himself than they were towards one another.



III—But we shall now relate how Cyrus, for the first time, marched in procession out of the palace; for the majesty of this procession seems to me to have been one of those arts that made his government not to be despised. In the first place, then, before he commenced the procession, he summoned to him those, both of the Persians and his other allies, that held commands, and distributed to them Median robes; and it was then that the Persians first put on the Median robe. After distributing these, he told them, that he intended to march in procession to those portions of ground that had been set apart for the gods, and to offer a sacrifice, accompanied by them. “Be present, therefore,” said he, “at the gates, before the rising of the sun, dressed in these robes, and form yourselves as Pheraulas the Persian shall give you directions from me; and, when I lead the way, follow in the places assigned you. But if it shall appear to any of you that we may march in a better order than that in which we shall now go, let him inform me as soon as we return, for we ought to dispose everything as may appear to you to be most becoming and eligible.” When he had distributed the finest robes to the greatest men, he produced other Median robes; for he had provided them in great numbers, and was sparing neither in purple habits, nor in those of a murrey colour, nor in scarlet,

nor in dark red. Having distributed a certain number of these to each of the commanders, he bid them adorn their friends with them, "as I," said he, "adorn you." One of those that were present then asked him, "But when will you, Cyrus, adorn yourself?" "Do I not appear to you," replied he, "already adorned in adorning you? Certainly," added he, "if I am but able to serve my friends, whatever robe I wear, I shall appear graceful in it." They accordingly went away, and, sending for their friends, adorned them with the robes.

Cyrus, regarding Pheraulas, one of the inferior class of people, as a man of good understanding, a lover of beauty and order, and not negligent in trying to please him, (the same that had formerly spoken for every one being rewarded according to his desert,) sent for him, and consulted with him how he might make this procession most pleasing in the eyes of their friends, and most intimidating to such as were disaffected. And when, after consideration, they came to the same conclusion, he ordered Pheraulas to take care that the procession should be made, the next morning, in the manner on which they had decided as most eligible. "I have directed every one," said he, "to obey you as to his place in the procession; and that they may attend to your directions the more cheerfully, take these coats," said he, "and

carry them to the commanders of the guards; give these riding cloaks to the officers of the cavalry, and these other coats to the commanders of the chariots." He accordingly took them and carried them off. When the commanding officers saw him, they said to him, "You are a great man, Pheraulas, since you are to order us what we must do." "Not only so, by Jupiter, as it appears," said Pheraulas, "but I am to be a baggage-bearer too: at least I now bring you these two cloaks, one for yourself, the other for some one else; but take which of them you please." He that received the cloak in consequence forgot his envy, and immediately consulted him which he should take. Pheraulas, giving his opinion which was the best, added, "If ever you accuse me of having given you your choice, you shall find me, when I officiate again, a different sort of manager;"<sup>7</sup> and, having made his distribution as he was ordered, he immediately gave his attention to the affairs of the procession, that everything might be arranged in the best manner.

On the morrow, everything was fairly arranged before daylight; there were rows of troops standing on each side of the way, as they yet stand at this day, wherever the king is to

<sup>7</sup> If Cyrus, on any other occasion, shall tell me to bring you garments, or any other presents, I will not again give you your choice.



ride forth; and within these rows none but men of high rank are allowed to come; and there were men posted with scourges in their hands, who struck any that made a disturbance. There stood in front before the gates, four thousand of the guards drawn up four deep; and two thousand on each side of the gates. The cavalry also were in attendance, having alighted from their horses, and with their hands passed through their robes, as they still pass them at this day when the king takes a view of them. The Persians stood on the right hand, and the other allies on the left hand side of the way. The chariots, in the same manner, stood half of them on each side. When the gates of the palace were thrown open, there were first led forth some very beautiful bulls, four abreast, consecrated to Jupiter, and such of the other gods as the Magi directed; for the Persians think that they ought to consult professional instructors in affairs relating to the gods more than in others. Next to the bulls, there were horses led for a sacrifice to the sun. After these was led forth a chariot with white horses, with golden yokes on their necks, crowned,<sup>8</sup> and sacred to Jupiter; and after this another chariot with white horses, crowned like the preceding. After this a third chariot was led forth, its horses

<sup>8</sup> Crowned with the leaves of the oak or the olive-tree, for both were sacred to Jupiter.

adorned with scarlet coverings, and behind it followed men carrying fire<sup>9</sup> upon a large altar. After these Cyrus himself made his appearance in his chariot from the gates, with his tiara upright on his head,<sup>1</sup> and a vest of a purple colour, half mixed with white, (this mixture of white none else is allowed to wear;) and having on his legs loose trousers of a scarlet colour, and a robe wholly purple. He had also a band about his turban; and his relatives had likewise this mark of distinction, and retain it to this day. His hands he kept out of their coverings.<sup>2</sup> With him rode his driver, a tall man, but shorter than himself, whether in reality, or from whatever cause, but Cyrus certainly appeared much the taller. All the people, on seeing him, paid adoration, either from some having been before appointed to begin it, or from being struck with the pomp, and thinking that Cyrus appeared exceedingly tall and handsome; but no Persian ever paid Cyrus adoration before. When the chariot of Cyrus advanced, the four thousand guards preceded it, and the two thousand attended on each side of it. The wand-bearers about his person followed on horseback, splendidly equipped, with javelins in their hands, to the number of about three hundred. Next were

<sup>9</sup> The sacred fire, supposed to have fallen from heaven.

<sup>1</sup> Cyrus seems to have been the first that wore the upright tiara, which was afterwards a distinction of royalty.

<sup>2</sup> Out of the sleeves of his robe.

led the horses kept for Cyrus himself, with bits of gold, covered with striped cloths, in number about two hundred. Next to these marched two thousand spear-men; next to these the first-formed<sup>3</sup> body of horse, ten thousand in number, ranged in a square of a hundred on each side; and Chrysantas had the command of them. Next to these another body of ten thousand Persian horse, ranged in like manner, and of these Hystaspes had the command. Next to these another body of ten thousand, drawn up in the same manner; these Datamas led. Next to these followed another body of cavalry, whom Gadatas commanded. After these marched the Median cavalry; after these the Armenian; then the Hyrcanian; then the Caducian; then the Saccian. Behind the cavalry went the chariots, ranged four abreast; and Artabates, a Persian, had the command of them.

As he marched along, abundance of people, outside of the lines of soldiers, attended him, petitioning Cyrus about different matters. Sending to them, therefore, some of the wand-bearers who attended him, three on each side of his chariot, for the very purpose of delivering messages, he bid them tell them, "That if any of them wanted anything of him, they should make known to some of the cavalry officers what they required, and they," he said, "would communicate it to him." They immediately drew

<sup>3</sup> Those that were first organized.



back, and went to the horsemen, and consulted to which of them they should severally apply. But Cyrus, sending to those of his friends to whom he wished the greatest court to be paid by the public, called them severally to him, and said to them, "If any of those that follow by my side communicate anything to you, give no attention to any one that appears to you to say nothing of importance, but whoever seems to desire what is just, give me information of it, that we may consult together, and settle his business for him." Others, when he called them, rode up with despatch, and obeyed, contributing to the support of Cyrus's authority, and showing that they obeyed with promptitude; but one Diapharnes, a man somewhat uncouth in his manners, thought that, if he did not obey hastily, he should appear more independent. Cyrus accordingly perceiving this, sent one of the wand-bearers to him, before he came up and spoke to him, bidding him tell Diapharnes, that he had no more occasion for him; and he never sent for him afterwards. But as one who was called later, rode up to him sooner than he, Cyrus gave him one of the horses that followed in his train, and ordered one of the eunuchs to conduct the horse for him wherever he should direct. This appeared, to those that saw it, to be a very great honour; and after this many more people paid their court to this man.

When they came to the sacred enclosures, they sacrificed to Jupiter, and made a holocaust of the bulls; then to the Sun, and made a holocaust of the horses; then sacrificing certain victims to the Earth, they did with them as the Magi directed. Afterwards they sacrificed to the heroes, the guardians of Syria.

After this, the country thereabouts being very fine, he marked out a piece of ground of about five stadia, and told them, nation by nation, to put their horses to their speed. He himself rode with the Persians, and had greatly the superiority, for he had given great attention to horsemanship. Of the Medes, Artabates had the best; for Cyrus had given him a horse; of the Syrians, their commander; of the Armenians, Tigranes; of the Hyrcanians, the son of the commander of the horse; of the Sacians, a private youth, with his horse, left the other horses behind by almost half the course.

Cyrus is then said to have asked the young man, if he would accept of a kingdom in exchange for his horse? and the young man is said to have replied, "I would not accept a kingdom for him, but I would consent to gain a worthy man's favour for him." "Come then," said Cyrus, "and I will show you where, if you throw even with your eyes shut, you will not miss a worthy man." "Show me then, by all means," said the Sacian, "for I shall throw with this

clod," taking one up. Cyrus then pointed to a place where a great many of his friends were collected, and the man, shutting his eyes, threw his clod, and hit Pheraulas who was riding by; for Pheraulas happened then to be despatched with some orders from Cyrus, and, when he was struck, did not even turn aside, but went forward upon the business with which he was commissioned. The Sacian, on opening his eyes, asked whom he had hit. "None, by Jove," said Cyrus, "of those that are present." "But surely," rejoined the young man, "it was none of those that are absent." "Yes, indeed," said Cyrus, "you hit that man who is riding on at full speed yonder by the chariots." "And how is it that he does not turn back?" said he. "It is some madman," replied Cyrus, "as it appears." The young man, hearing this, went off to see who it was, and found Pheraulas with his chin covered with dirt and blood, for the blood had gushed from his nose when he was struck. When the young man came up with him, he asked him, "Whether he had received a blow?" Pheraulas answered, "Yes, as you see." "I make you a present, then," said the young man, "of this horse." Pheraulas asked, "For what?" When the Sacian gave him an account of the matter, and, in conclusion, added, "And I believe I have not failed to hit a worthy man," Pheraulas rejoined, "But if you had been wise,



you would have given it to a richer man than I am; but I now accept it, and beseech the gods, who have caused me to be hit by you, to grant that I may not make you repent of your present to me; and now," added he "mount my horse, and ride off upon him, and I will soon join you." Thus they separated.

Amongst the Caducians, Rathonices had the superiority. Cyrus also put the chariots severally to their speed; and to all the victors he gave oxen and cups, that they might sacrifice and feast. He himself took the ox that was his prize, but his share of the cups he gave to Pheraulas, because he thought that he had arranged the procession from the palace very happily.

This mode of procession, then settled by Cyrus, continues to be the king's procession to this day, except that the victims are omitted when he is not going to sacrifice. When these ceremonies were at an end, they returned again to the city, and those who had houses assigned them, quartered in the houses, and they that had not, in companies.

Pheraulas, inviting the Sacian that presented him with the horse, not only entertained him with other things in abundance, but, after they had supped, filled the cups that he had received from Cyrus, drank to him, and made him a present of them. The Sacian, observing a great many fine coverings for couches, a great deal

of fine furniture, and a large number of domestics, "Tell me," said he, "Pheraulas, were you one of the rich men when you were at home?" "What sort of rich men<sup>4</sup> do you mean?" said Pheraulas: "I was one of those that lived directly by the work of their own hands; for my father, maintaining me but poorly by his own labour, bred me up in the discipline of the boys; but, when I became a youth, not being able to maintain me in idleness, he took me into the country, and ordered me to work. Here I maintained him in return, as long as he lived, digging and sowing, with my own hands, a little piece of land, not indeed an ungrateful one, but the most just in the world; for the seed that it received it returned me handsomely and justly with interest, though not very great; yet sometimes, out of its generosity, it gave me back double of what it received. Thus I lived at home: but now Cyrus has given me all these things that you see." The Sacian then said, "Happy are you, as well in other respects as in this, that, from being poor, you have become rich! for I think that you must possess your riches with more pleasure, as you have become rich after having earnestly longed for riches." Pheraulas replied, "And do you think, Sacian, that I live with the more pleasure the more I

<sup>4</sup> "For even the poor, who are content with their lot, may be called rich."

possess? Do you not know," said he, "that I neither eat, nor drink, nor sleep, with a particle more pleasure now than when I was poor? But, by having this abundance, I gain merely this, that I have to guard more, to distribute more to others, and to have the trouble of taking care of more; for a great many domestics now demand of me their food, their drink, and their clothes; some are in want of physicians; one comes and brings me sheep that have been torn by wolves, or oxen killed by falling over a precipice, or tells me of a distemper that has fallen on the cattle: so that I seem to myself," said Pheraulas, "in possessing abundance, to have more afflictions than I had before in possessing but little." "But certainly," said the Sacian, "when all is well, you have, in seeing your numerous possessions, many times more pleasure than I." Pheraulas replied, "It is not so pleasant, Sacian, to possess riches, as it is annoying to lose them; and you will find that what I say is true; for none of those that possess riches are forced to lose their rest by the pleasure attending them; but of those that lose them, you will see none that are able to sleep for concern." "No, by Jupiter," said the Sacian, "nor will you see any of those that are obtaining wealth able to sleep for pleasure." "You say the truth," said Pheraulas, "for if to possess riches were as pleasant as to obtain them, the rich would very



much exceed the poor in happiness. But, Sacian," continued he, "it is obligatory on him that possesses abundance to expend abundance, both on the gods, on his friends, and on strangers. Whoever, therefore, is greatly pleased with the possession of riches, will, be assured, feel much annoyed at the expenditure of them." "By Jupiter," said the Sacian, "I am not one of those; but I think it a happiness for a man having abundance to spend abundance." "Why, then," said Pheraulas, "in the name of all the gods, do you not, this instant, become happy, and make me also happy? For take all these things, keep them, and use them as you please; maintain me only as a stranger, or yet more sparingly than a stranger; since it will be enough for me to share with you in what you have." "You jest," said the Sacian. Pheraulas asserted, with an oath, that he spoke seriously. "I will also obtain you, Sacian, something more<sup>5</sup> from Cyrus: namely, that you shall not attend at his doors, or go with him to the field, but that you shall stay at home in the midst of your riches. My present proposal I will carry into effect for your sake and my own; and, if I gain any additional property by my attendance upon Cyrus, or by any military expedition, I will bring it to you, that you may

<sup>5</sup> Something in addition to the oxen and cups which the Sacian had already received from Cyrus.

still have the command of more; only do you," said he, "free me from this care; for, if I can but have leisure from these occupations, I think that you will be of service in many ways both to me and to Cyrus." After thus conversing, they made an arrangement accordingly, and carried it into effect. The one thought himself made happy by having the command of great riches, and the other esteemed himself the most fortunate of all men, inasmuch as he should have a steward who would secure him leisure to do whatever was agreeable to him.

The disposition of Pheraulas was very companionable, and nothing appeared to him so pleasing or profitable, to bestow attention upon, as mankind; for man, he thought, was of all creatures the best and most grateful; because he saw that those who were commended by any one, readily gave commendation in return; that they strove to do kindness to such as had done kindnesses to them; that they were benevolently disposed towards those whom they knew to be benevolently disposed towards them; that they could not hate those whom they knew to feel love for them; and that they were much more inclined than any other creatures to pay a tribute of respect to their parents, both while living and after death. All other animals he regarded as more ungrateful and less mindful of kindnesses than man. Thus Pheraulas was greatly

delighted, that, by being freed from the care of other possessions, he should be at liberty to attend to his friends; and the Sacian was greatly delighted, because he was to have much and to spend much. The Sacian loved Pheraulas, because he was always bringing him something; and Pheraulas loved the Sacian, because he was willing to take all; and because, though he had the charge of more and more, he yet gave him no additional trouble. Thus did these two men live.

IV.—When Cyrus had sacrificed, and proceeded to give an entertainment in honour of his victory, he invited those of his friends, who appeared the most desirous to increase his authority, and who paid him honour with the greatest cheerfulness. With them he invited Artabazus the Mede, Tigranes the Armenian, the commander of the Hyrcanian cavalry, and Gobryas. Gadatas was the chief of his eunuchs; and all the arrangements within doors were made as he ordered. When there were any persons supping with him, Gadatas did not sit down, but attended; but when they were alone, he supped with him; for he was pleased with his conversation; and, in return, Gadatas was honoured with many valuable presents, both by Cyrus himself, and by others upon Cyrus's account.



When those who were invited to supper came, he did not make every one sit down where he chanced to be, but the man that he most esteemed he placed upon his left hand, as if this side were more exposed to treacherous designs than the right. The next in his esteem he placed upon the right hand; the third again upon his left, and the fourth upon his right; and, if there were more, he proceeded in the same manner. He thought it right that it should be shown how far he esteemed every one; because, where men think that he who excels others will neither have his praises published, nor receive rewards, it is plain that they feel no emulation with respect to each other; but where he that excels is seen to have some advantage, there all appear to contend with the utmost zeal. Thus Cyrus made those known that were highest in his esteem; beginning first with their place, as they sat or stood by him. Yet this appointed place of sitting he did not make perpetual, but made it a rule, that a man might advance, by honourable conduct, to a more honourable seat; or, if he grew negligent of his duties, might sink down to a less honourable. Cyrus also felt ashamed if he who had the principal seat, did not appear to have received the greatest number of valuable things at his hand. These practices, that were established in the

times of Cyrus, we find constantly observed to the present day.

When they were at supper, it did not seem at all wonderful to Gobryas, that everything should be in great abundance with a man who had the command of many; but that Cyrus, who had achieved such great exploits, should, if he found that he had got anything delicate, consume no portion of it alone, but take the trouble of requesting those who were present to share it, appeared very striking; and frequently he saw him send to some of his absent friends such things as he happened to be pleased with himself; so that after they had supped, and Cyrus had sent away from his table all that plenty that was upon it, Gobryas said, "Hitherto, Cyrus, I thought that you most excelled other men in being most skilful in commanding an army; but now, I swear by the gods that I think you excel more in benevolence than in generalship." "By Jupiter," said Cyrus, "I have much more pleasure in showing deeds of kindness than of military skill." "How so?" said Gobryas. "Because," said he, "I must show the one by doing mischief to men, and the other by doing them good."

Afterwards, when they had drunk a little, Hystaspes put this question to Cyrus: "Would you be offended, Cyrus," said he, "if I should ask you something that I am desirous to learn

from you?" "No, by the gods," said Cyrus; "on the contrary, I should feel displeased if I found that you did not mention what you wish to ask." "Tell me, then," said he, "when you have called me, did I ever refuse to come?" "Do not talk foolishly," said Cyrus. "Or when I obeyed you, did I ever obey slowly?" "Certainly not." "Have I ever neglected to do anything that you have ordered me?" "I accuse you of nothing of the kind," said Cyrus. "And, as to what I have done, have you ever accused me of having done anything otherwise than with alacrity and pleasure?" "That," said Cyrus, "least of all." "In the name of all the gods, then, Cyrus," said he, "on what account is it, that you have written down Chrysantas as to be placed in a more honourable seat than myself?" "Shall I tell you?" said Cyrus. "By all means," said he. "And you will not be offended with me when you hear the truth?" "No, I shall be pleased," said he, "if I find that I am not wronged." "Then," said he, "Chrysantas here, in the first place, never waited my call, but, before he was called, was ready for my service; and he then did, not only what he was ordered, but whatever he himself thought best for us to be done. When it was necessary to say anything to our allies, he suggested to me what he thought was proper for me to say; and what he saw that I wished our allies to know, but



was ashamed to say concerning myself, he stood forward to express as his own opinion. So that, in regard to such matters, what hinders him from being esteemed of more use to me, even than myself? As to himself, he always says that whatever he has is sufficient for him; but for me he is always to be seen looking out, to find what acquisition may be of service to me; and at any good fortune that befalls me, he is much more delighted and pleased than myself." To this Hystaspes replied, "By Juno, Cyrus, I am pleased that I have asked you these things." "On what account, chiefly?" said Cyrus. "Because I also will endeavour to practise them. Only there is one thing," said he, "that I do not know; and that is, how I must make it evident that I rejoice at your good fortune, whether I must clap my hands, or laugh, or what I must do?" Artabazus upon this said, "You must dance the Persian dance;" a remark at which a laugh arose.

As the entertainment proceeded, Cyrus put this question to Gobryas: "Tell me," said he, "Gobryas, do you think that you should give your daughter to one of the present company now, with more pleasure than when you first became acquainted with us?" "Shall I then speak the truth?" said Gobryas. "Yes, by Jupiter," said Cyrus, "since no question requires a false answer." "Be assured then,"

said he, "that I should give her with much more pleasure now." "And can you tell why?" said Cyrus. "I can." "Tell me then." "Because I then saw them bearing toils and dangers with alacrity; but I now see them bearing prosperity with discretion. And to me, Cyrus, it appears more difficult to find a man that bears prosperity well, than one that bears adversity well; for prosperity creates presumption in most men, but adversity brings sobriety to all." Cyrus then said, "Do you hear, Hystaspes, this saying of Gobryas?" "Yes, by Jove," said he, "I do; and, if he utter many such, he shall much sooner have me as a suitor for his daughter, than if he were to show me a great number of cups." "Indeed," said Gobryas, "I have a great many such in writing; which I shall not grudge you, if you take my daughter for a wife; but my cups," said he, "since you seem not to like them, I do not know but I shall give to Chrystantas here, especially since he has stolen your seat from you."

"Well," said Cyrus, "if you, Hystaspes, and any of the rest that are here, will acquaint me when any one of you is seeking a wife, you will then find what sort of a helper I shall be to you." "But if a man wishes to dispose of a daughter," said Gobryas, "to whom must one tell it?" "To me also," said Cyrus; "for I am a very extraordinary man in this art." "What

art?" said Chrysantas. "That of knowing what match will suit each particular man." "In the name of all the gods, then," said Chrysantas, "tell me what wife you think will best suit me." "In the first place," said Cyrus, "she must be short; for you are short yourself; and if you marry a tall wife, and would ever kiss her when she is standing, you must leap up like a little dog." "You very properly take thought as to this particular," said Chrysantas, "for I am by no means a good jumper." "In addition," said Cyrus, "one that is very flat-nosed would suit you." "Why should that be the case?" "Because," said Cyrus, "you have a prominent nose, and promineney would best suit flatness." "Do you say, then, that a fasting wife would best suit one that has feasted plentifully, as I have now?" "Yes, by Jove," said Cyrus, "for the stomachs of the full are prominent, and those of the fasting are flat." "But, in the name of all the gods," said Chrysantas, "can you tell what wife will suit a cold king?"<sup>6</sup> At this Cyrus burst into a laugh, as did also the others. While they were laughing, Hystaspes said, "Of all that be-

<sup>6</sup> There is an ambiguity in the Greek word which may be applied either to one who makes frigid jokes, or to one who is averse to love or marriage; for Cyrus, who was so ready to give wives to others, had not yet taken one himself. The answer to be expected to Chrysantas' question was, "A warm one;" hence the laugh which followed it.



longs to your royal dignity, Cyrus, I envy you most for this." "For what?" said Cyrus." "That though cold,<sup>7</sup> you can excite laughter." "And would not you give a great deal, then," said Cyrus, "that these things had been said by you, and that it should be told to her, by whom you wish to be held in esteem, that you are a facetious man?" Such were the jests that passed among them.

Soon after, Cyrus produced a woman's attire for Tigranes, and bid him give it his wife, because she bravely attended her husband in the field. To Aratabazus he gave a golden cup; to the Hyrcanian, a horse; and many other noble presents he bestowed. "But to you, Gobryas," said he, "I will give a husband for your daughter." "And shall not I," said Hystaspes, "be the husband that you will give, that I may get those writings?" "Have you fortune enough," said Cyrus, "to match that of the girl?" "Yes, by Jove," said he, "I have a fortune worth several times as much as hers." "And where," asked Cyrus, "is this fortune of yours?" "There," replied Hystaspes, "where you, who are my friend, are sitting." "That is sufficient for me," said Gobryas; and, holding out his right hand at once, "Give him to me, Cyrus," said he, "for I accept him." Cyrus

<sup>7</sup> Even if you are to be considered cold, *frigidus ad venerem*, you can yet raise a laugh.

then, taking the right hand of Hystaspes, presented it to Gobryas, who took it. Immediately after, he made a great many noble presents to Hystaspes, that he might send them to the damsel. And, drawing Chrysantas to him, he kissed him; when Artabazus said, "By Jupiter, Cyrus, you have not given me my cup of the same gold<sup>8</sup> with the present which you have made Chrysantas." "But I will give you one of the same," said he. Hystaspes asked, "When?" "Thirty years hence," said he. "Be prepared for me, then," said he, "as I intend to wait, and not to die before the time." Thus the entertainment ended, and, when they rose, Cyrus rose with them, and conducted them to the door.

The next day he sent home all those of the allies that had voluntarily attended him, excepting such as desired to settle near him, to whom he gave lands and houses, which the descendants of those who then staid still possess; they were mostly Medes and Hyrcanians. To those that went away, he gave many presents, and dismissed them, both officers and soldiers, without giving them any cause to complain. In the next place, he divided the treasure that he had taken at Sardes among the soldiers that were about him. To the commanders of ten thou-

<sup>8</sup> Artabazus refers to the kiss which Cyrus had given Chrysantas.

sand, and to the inferior officers that were with him, he gave choice presents, according to the merit of each. The rest he divided into portions, and giving a share to each of the commanders of ten thousand, he permitted them to distribute it in the same manner as he had distributed to them. These other portions they accordingly distributed, each officer examining into the merits of the officers under him; and what remained at last, the captains of five, inquiring into the merits of the private soldiers under them, gave away according to the desert of each. Thus they all received their just share.

When they had received what was then given them, some of them spoke of Cyrus in this manner: "Surely he has abundance, when he gives so much to each of us." Others said, "What is the abundance that he has? Cyrus's disposition is not such that he should heap up treasure for himself; but he is more pleased to give it away than to keep it." Cyrus, hearing of this talk, and the opinions formed of him, called his friends and all the principal persons together, and spoke to this effect: "My friends, I have seen men that were willing to be thought possessed of more than they really had, and who expected, by that means, to appear the more generous; but such persons seem to me drawn into the very reverse of what they intend; for



that a man should seem to possess abundance, and yet should not appear to do service to his friends in proportion to his substance, seems to me to fix upon him the character of illiberality. There are some," continued he, "on the other hand, who wish that what they have may be concealed; and those also appear to me to be faulty to their friends; for frequently friends that are in want do not tell their necessities to their companions, from being ignorant of what they have, and are thus deceived. But it is, in my opinion, the part of a straightforward man to let his means be known, and strive to gain a character for generosity according to them. I intend, therefore," he added, "to show you all that is possible for you to see of what I have; and of what you cannot see, to give you an account." Having spoken thus, he showed them some portions of many valuable treasures; and of others, laid up so as not to be easily seen, he gave them an account; and, in conclusion, said, "All these things, my friends, you must consider not more mine than yours; for I have collected them, not that I may spend them myself, or that I may wear them out; for I should not be able to do so; but that I may always have something to give to him among you that achieves anything honourable, and that if any one of you feels in want of anything, he may come to me and take what he happens to need."

V.—But when affairs in Babylon appeared to him so favourably settled, that he might absent himself from thence, he prepared, and directed others to prepare, for a journey into Persia. When he thought that he had enough of such things as he was likely to want, he took his departure. We shall now give an account, how his army, though of such magnitude, encamped, and resumed its march, in good order, and how each part at once arranged itself in its proper place.

Wherever the king encamps, those who are about his person occupy the ground under tents, both winter and summer. Cyrus at once adopted the custom of pitching his own tent fronting the east. He then directed, first, at what distance from the royal tent the guards should pitch theirs; and next appointed the bakers their station on the right, and the cooks their station on the left. For the horses,<sup>9</sup> he appointed a place on the right, and for the other beasts of burden on the left. The other parts of the army were so disposed, that each knew its own ground both as to dimension and position. When they are to prepare for marching, each man packs up such baggage as he is appointed to use, while others place it upon the beasts of burden; so that all the baggage-carriers come up, at the same time, to the baggage

<sup>9</sup> The horses that were used in conveying the baggage.

appointed them to carry, and all, at the same time, place it, severally, upon their beasts. So that the same time suffices for one and for all the tents to remove. The case is the same with regard to the pitching of the tents. In order, too, that everything necessary may be done at its proper time, it is appointed to each man, in like manner, what he is to do; and, by this means, the same time suffices for doing things in one part and in all. And as the attendants, that made ready the provisions, had each his proper station, so they that carried arms had their stations in the encampment suitable to the sort of arms which they severally bore; they knew what their station was, and all arranged themselves in it without hesitation. For Cyrus thought the proper arrangement of things an excellent practice in a house; for when a person wants anything, it is known whither he must go to get it; but the judicious arrangement of the several divisions of an army he esteemed a much nobler thing, inasmuch as the occasions for using what is wanted, in affairs of war, are more sudden, and the miscarriages arising from such as are dilatory in them are of worse consequence; and he saw that the most valuable advantages in war arose from having all things ready for the occasion. Upon these accounts, therefore, he paid the utmost attention to propriety of arrangement.



First, then, he located himself in the middle of the camp, as being the most secure position; then those in whom he chiefly confided, he had, according to his custom, immediately about himself. Next to these, he had in a circle the horsemen and charioteers; for he thought that a secure station was necessary for these, because they are encamped without having any of the arms in readiness with which they fight, and require a considerable time to arm themselves, if they are to act to any purpose. To the right and left of himself and the cavalry, was the station of the peltasts. The station of the archers was before and behind himself and the horsemen. The heavy-armed men, and such as had large shields, he ranged in a circle round all, as a rampart, that, if there should be occasion for the cavalry to equip themselves, those who were best able to make a stand, being placed before them, might secure them time to arm in safety. As the heavy-armed men slept in order around him, so did the peltasts and archers; in order that, if it should be necessary to act in the night-time, as the heavy-armed men were prepared to repel such as closed with them, so the archers and javelin-men, if any attacked them, might promptly discharge their javelins and arrows in defence of the heavy-armed. All the generals had ensigns on their tents; and as, in cities, intelligent servants know the houses of most peo-

ple, and especially of the most respectable, so the inferior officers of Cyrus knew the positions of the chief leaders in the camp, and could distinguish the ensigns that belonged to each of them; so that whomsoever Cyrus might want, they had not to seek for him, but could run the shortest way to each of them. From the several divisions being kept distinct, too, it was much more readily observed when any one was orderly, and when any one failed to do what was ordered. Such an arrangement being maintained, he was of opinion, that if any body attacked him, whether by night or day, the assailant would fall into his camp as into an ambuscade.

He thought it a part of strategy, not only for a man to be able to draw out a phalanx cleverly, or to increase its depth, or to form the men from the wings in line,<sup>1</sup> or to wheel round skilfully if the enemy appeared on the right, the left, or the rear; but he thought it also a part of strategy

<sup>1</sup> Of this phrase none of the commentators give any satisfactory explanation. Fischer suggests that it may signify to lengthen the line, to extend it on the wing; or that it may signify to take cavalry from the wings, and range them among the light and heavy-armed infantry; but for this interpretation the text affords no ground. Again, if we suppose that it means to take men from the wing, and place them in the main body, it will be much the same as the meaning of the words preceding. However, we must imagine that Xenophon meant the words to be taken in some such signification as to unite the wing more closely, by some manœuvre, to the main body, or to incorporate it with the main body.

to divide one battalion into several when it was necessary, to post each division where it might be most of service, and to use despatch where it might be requisite to anticipate the enemy. All these qualifications, and such as these, he considered to be necessary in a skilful tactician; and he paid equal attention to them all. On the march, he proceeded in such order as was adapted to circumstances; but in pitching his camp, he disposed his troops, for the most part, as has been described.

When, in the course of their march, they came to Media, Cyrus turned aside to visit Cyaxares. When they had embraced each other, Cyrus first told Cyaxares that there was a private house, and palaces, set apart for him in Babylon; that when he came thither, he might take up his abode in his own home; and he also made him a great many other honourary presents. Cyaxares received them, and sent to him his daughter with a crown of gold, bracelets, a collar, and a Median robe as magnificent as could be made; and the damsel put the crown upon Cyrus's head. Cyaxares then said, "Cyrus, I give you the damsel herself, too, who is my own daughter, for your wife. Your father married my father's daughter, and you are her son. This is she, whom, when you were a boy, and amongst us, you used to nurse; and when any one asked her whom she would marry, she



used to say, 'Cyrus.' With her I give you all Media as her dowry, for I have no legitimate male issue." Thus he spoke, and Cyrus replied, "O Cyaxares, I am delighted with the family, the damsel, and the presents; and, with the consent," he added, "of my father and mother, I am ready to accept your offer." Thus, indeed, Cyrus expressed himself; yet he presented the damsel with whatever he thought would gratify Cyaxares. Having done so, he continued his march to Persia.

When, in due course, he arrived at the borders of Persia, he left the rest of the army there; but he himself, with his intimate friends, went forward to the city, taking with him such numbers of beasts for sacrifice as were sufficient for all the Persians to slaughter and make feasts. He took with him also such presents as were suitable for his father and mother, and the rest of his friends; as well as others adapted for the magistrates and elder men, and for all the Equals-in-honour. He gave likewise to all the Persians, both men and women, such presents as the king still makes when he comes into Persia. After this Cambyses assembled the elder Persians, and such of the magistrates as held the highest offices (he invited also Cyrus), and spoke to this effect:

"I have justly an affection both for you, men of Persia, and for thee, Cyrus; for over you I

am king, and thou, Cyrus, art my son. It is right for me, therefore, to lay before you whatever I consider to be of advantage for each of you. With respect to the time past, you have advanced the interests of Cyrus, by granting an army, and by constituting him the commander of it; and Cyrus, in the conduct of that army, has, with the help of the gods, rendered you, O Persians, famous amongst all men, and honoured throughout all Asia; while of those that served with him, he has enriched the most deserving, and has provided pay and maintenance for the multitude, and, by instituting a Persian cavalry, has given the Persians a share in the command of the plains. For the future, therefore, if you retain the same feelings, you will be the authors of many advantages to each other; but if either you, Cyrus, elevated with your present good fortune, shall attempt to rule the Persians, like other nations,<sup>2</sup> only for your own benefit; or if you, citizens, envying him his power, shall endeavour to deprive him of his command, be assured that you will hinder each other from enjoying many blessings. That such may not be the case, therefore, but that good fortune may attend you, it seems proper to me," continued he, "that we should offer a sac-

<sup>2</sup> Persia was not accounted a tributary country, though the people were probably expected to make presents to the king. There is no reason why we should not understand these words as having reference to tribute.

rifice in common, and, calling the gods to witness, should engage, you, Cyrus, on your part, that if any one make war upon the Persian territory, or attempt to overthrow the Persian laws, you will assist, in their defence, with your whole force; and that you, Persians, on your side, if any one attempt to deprive Cyrus of his authority, or if any of those under his power attempt to revolt, you will yield such assistance, in defence of yourselves and of Cyrus, as he shall demand. Whilst I live, the royal dignity amongst the Persians is mine; when I am dead, it will doubtless belong to Cyrus, if he is alive. And when he comes into Persia, it should be a point of religion with you, that he should make such sacrifices for you as I now make; but, when he is abroad, I think it will be well for you, if that member of our family who appears to you to be the most worthy perform the sacrifices to the gods."

When Cambyses had spoken thus, his proposals were approved both by Cyrus and the Persian magistrates; and as they thus agreed at that time, calling the gods to witness, so the Persians and the king continue still to act one towards another. After these affairs were ended, Cyrus took his departure.

When he arrived in Media, on his return, he married, with the consent of his father and mother, the daughter of Cyaxares, of whom



there is still a report that she was extremely beautiful. [Some writers say that he married his mother's sister; but she must doubtless have been a woman far advanced in years.] Having married her, he soon departed, taking her with him.

VI.—When he was at Babylon, it seemed proper to him to send satraps to govern the conquered nations. But the commanders of the garrisons in the fortresses, and the commanders of thousands in the forces throughout the country, he allowed to obey the orders of no one but himself. He used this foresight, on consideration that, if any one of the satraps, by reason of his wealth, and the number of his people, should grow insolent, and attempt to withdraw his obedience from him, he might immediately meet with opposers on the spot. Desiring, therefore, to make this arrangement, he determined first to call together those whom it concerned, and to declare his intentions to them, that they who went might know on what conditions they went; for he thought that they would thus more readily submit; but that if any of them should be first appointed rulers, and should then be informed of his determination, they would be likely to be discontented at it, imagining it to be made from want of confidence in them.

Having assembled them accordingly, he addressed them to this effect: "My friends, in the cities that have been conquered, there are garrisons, and governors over them, whom we left there at the time; and, when I came away, I gave them orders to employ themselves about no other object than merely to preserve the fortresses; these men therefore, since they have honourably guarded what was intrusted to them, I shall not deprive of their posts; but it is my purpose to send other governors, who shall take upon them the rule of the inhabitants, and who, receiving the revenues, shall pay the garrisons, and discharge whatever else is necessary. And to those of you who remain here, and to whom I shall give employment, by sending them<sup>3</sup> to any of these nations to transact business, I think it proper that lands and houses should be assigned there, that the tribute may from thence be sent hither, and that when they go thither they may reside in their own dwellings." Thus he spoke; and to many of his friends he gave houses and people to serve them throughout all the conquered cities. These lands, situate some in one country and some in another, remain to this day in possession of the descendants of those who then received them, though they

<sup>3</sup> Extraordinary legates or commissioners are meant, who might be sent by the king to look into the state of affairs in any province.

themselves reside with the king. "We ought," he then proceeded, "to look out for such satraps, to go to these countries, as will think of sending us hither whatever is excellent and valuable in each country, that we, who are here, may have a share of what is good everywhere; especially as we, if any danger threaten them, shall have to exert ourselves for their defence."

With these words he concluded his speech; and then from such of his friends as he knew were desirous to go upon the terms expressed, he selected such as he thought most eligible, and sent out, as satraps, Megabyzus to Arabia, Artabatas to Cappadocia, Artacamas to the Greater Phrygia, Chrysantas to Lydia and Ionia, Adusius to Caria, as the Carians themselves had desired, and Pharnuchus to Phrygia on the Hellespont, and Æolia. To Cilicia, to Cyprus, and to the Paphlagonians, he sent no Persian satraps, because they seemed to have joined him of their own accord in his expedition against Babylon; to them, however, he appointed also a tribute to pay; and as Cyrus then ordered, so there are, at this day, garrisons belonging to the king in the fortresses, and commanders of thousands appointed by the king over those garrisons, and enrolled in the king's list.

All the satraps that were sent out, he directed to imitate whatever they saw him prac-



tise; in the first place, to form out of the Persians and allies that attended them a number of horsemen and charioteers; to oblige such as had land and palaces to attend at his doors, and, observing a discreet behaviour, to offer themselves to the service of the satrap, if occasion should require; to discipline at his doors the sons of those men, according to his own practice; and to take those that attended at his doors out with him to hunt, and exercise himself and those about him in military occupations. "And whosoever," said he, "in proportion to his ability, produces me the most chariots, and the most and the best horsemen, I will reward him, as an excellent fellow-soldier, and as an excellent fellow-guardian of the empire for both the Persians and myself. Let the best men with you, as with me, be honoured with the principal seats; and let your table, like mine, maintain, in the first place, your domestics, and let it be also sufficiently furnished for your friends to partake of it, and to allow you every day to honour any one that may have done a worthy action. Provide yourselves parks, and maintain wild beasts; and neither set meat at any time before yourselves without having taken exercise, nor throw food to your horses until they have taken it. For I, who am but a single individual, cannot, with all the virtue that belongs to human nature, secure the possessions

of you all; but it is my part, as an honourable man, with honourable men about me, to be a support to you; and it is your parts, likewise, as honourable men, with other honourable men about you, to be supporters to me. I desire that you would observe also, that of all these directions that I now give you, I give none to those that are of servile condition; and that whatever I say you ought to do, I endeavour myself also to practise. As I, therefore, exhort you to imitate me, so do you instruct those that hold command under you to imitate you."

Cyrus having thus regulated affairs at that time, all the garrisons under the kings are, in consequence, still maintained in the same method; all doors of the commanders are attended in like manner; all houses, great and small, are regulated in a similar way; the most deserving men in all companies are honoured with the principal seats; all marches are conducted in the same order; and in every nation a great multitude of affairs is included under the management of a few governors.

Having instructed them how they were severally to manage these affairs, and having given each of them a body of troops, he sent them away, giving them all notice to be prepared, as an expedition would be undertaken in the following year, and a review of men and arms, horses and chariots.

We have heard also of the following regulation, that Cyrus having, as they say, begun it, it continues in force to the present day. A certain person, at the head of an army, makes a progress through the country every year, in order that, if any one of the satraps want assistance, he may afford it; and that, if any one grow rebellious, he may humble him; and that, if any neglect the payment of his tribute, or the protection of the inhabitants, or to see that the land be cultivated, or omit to fulfil any other of his duties, he may rectify such matters; or, if he is unable to do so himself, may report the affair to the king; who, when he hears of it, considers how to deal with the offender. And those to whom allusion is so often made, when it is said that the king's son, or the king's brother, or the king's eye, is coming down, and who sometimes do not make their appearance (for each of them returns whenever<sup>4</sup> the king sends orders), are those who make these progresses.

We have likewise been informed of another contrivance of his, which was suited to the extent of his empire, and by means of which he could speedily learn in what state the most remote parts of it were; for, ascertaining how

<sup>4</sup> "Returns from that point from which the king orders him to return." The legate turns back if the king has occasion, before he reaches the end of his journey, to recall him to Babylon, or to despatch him into any other province.



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long a journey a horse could accomplish in a day, being ridden at such a pace as to keep his strength, he built stables at that distance, and put horses in them, and persons to take care of them; and he appointed, at each of these stations, a proper person to receive letters that were brought, and to deliver them to other messengers; and to take in the tired horses and men, and furnish fresh ones. They say that sometimes this conveyance was not interrupted even during the night, but that a night messenger immediately succeeded the day one. In this manner some say that they make their way swifter than cranes; but though they are wrong in that assertion, yet it is manifest that this is the quickest of all modes of travelling for men by land; and it is right that a sovereign should have immediate intelligence of everything, and give immediate attention to it.

When the year was ended, Cyrus assembled his army at Babylon, and it is said that there were in it cavalry to the number of a hundred and twenty thousand, chariots armed with scythes to the number of two thousand, and infantry to the number of a hundred and twenty thousand. This force being in readiness for him, he proceeded on that expedition, in which he is reported to have subdued all those nations which extend from the entrance into Syria to the Red Sea. After this, his expedition to

Egypt is said to have taken place, and to have brought Egypt into subjection. In consequence the Red Sea bounded his empire on the east, the Euxine Sea on the north, Cyprus and Egypt on the west, and Ethiopia on the south. The extreme parts of these countries are uninhabitable, some from heat, some from cold, some from too great abundance of water, others from a scarcity of it.

Cyrus, fixing his residence in the centre of these countries, spent the winter season, seven months, at Babylon, because the climate there is warm; the spring season, three months, at Susa; and the middle of summer, two months, at Ecbatana. By this means they say that he enjoyed a perpetual spring, with respect to heat and cold. Men were so affected towards him, that every nation thought they failed in their duty if they did not send Cyrus whatever valuable things either grew, or were bred, or manufactured, in their country; every city acted in the same manner; and every private man thought that he should enrich himself, if he could but oblige Cyrus; for Cyrus, accepting from every one that of which the givers had abundance, bestowed on them, in return, what he saw that they needed.

VII.—Time thus advancing, Cyrus, now growing old, made a journey into Persia for

the seventh time during his reign, when his father and mother had probably been for some time dead. Cyrus made the usual sacrifices, led the dance among the Persians according to the practice of the country, and distributed to every one presents, as he had been accustomed. Afterwards, as he was sleeping in the royal palace, he had the following dream. A being, of more than human dignity, seemed to advance towards him, and to say, "Cyrus, prepare thyself, for thou art now going to the gods!" After seeing this vision, he awoke, and seemed almost to be certain that his end was drawing near. He therefore immediately took victims, and sacrificed on the summit of a mountain, as is the custom in Persia, to Jupiter Patrius, the sun, and the rest of the gods, uttering this prayer:

"O Jupiter Patrius, thou sun, and all ye gods! receive this sacrifice, as an acknowledgment for assistance in the achievement of many honourable deeds, and as an offering of gratitude to you for having signified to me by victims, by signs from heaven, by birds, and by omens, what it became me to do, and what it became me not to do. Abundant thanks are due to you, that I have been sensible of your care and protection; and have never in the course of my prosperity been elated in thought above what became a man. I beseech you now to grant happiness to my children, my wife, my



friends, and my country; and to myself, a death similar to the life which you have given me."

Having concluded these ceremonies, and having returned home, he felt inclined to rest, and lay down. At the proper hour, the attendants, whose business it was, came to him, and signified that he should bathe. He told them that he had rested very well. Other attendants, at the proper hour, brought him his meal, but his appetite was not inclined for food, but he seemed thirsty, and drank with pleasure. As he was similarly affected on the second and third days, he sent for his sons, who happened to have attended him, and were then in Persia. He summoned likewise his friends and the magistrates of Persia. When they were all come, he began to speak to them in this manner:

"My children, and all of you, my friends, who are present, the termination of my life is now at hand, as I certainly know from many indications. It behoves you, when I am dead, to speak and act with reference to me, in every way, as a happy man. For, when I was a child, I seem to have profited by what is thought becoming in children, when I was a youth, from what is thought becoming in young men, and when I was a man, from what is thought becoming in men. I have always, too, seemed to feel my strength increase with the advance of time, so that I have not found myself weaker in my

old age than in my youth, nor do I know that I have attempted or desired anything in which I have not been successful. By my means, I have seen my friends made happy, and my enemies enslaved; and I leave my country, previously undistinguished in Asia, now in the highest honour. Of what I have acquired, moreover, I know of nothing that I have not preserved. But though, in time past, I succeeded according to my wishes, yet an apprehension attending me, lest I should hereafter see, hear, or suffer some trouble, has not allowed me to think altogether highly of myself, or to feel extravagantly delighted. Now, whenever I die, I leave you, my children, whom the gods have given to be born to me, surviving, and I leave my country and my friends happy. Why, then, should I not always, with justice, be remembered as fortunate?

“But I must likewise declare to whom I leave my kingdom, lest, the succession being left doubtful, it should hereafter cause disturbance among you. I love you both, my children, equally; but to plan for the future, and to take the lead in whatever occasion may require, I commit to the elder, who has, as is natural, greater experience. I was myself so instructed by my country and yours, to give place to those elder than myself, not only brothers, but fellow-citizens, both in walking, sitting, and convers-

ing; and thus have I instructed you, my children, from your youth, to pay honour to your elders in preference to yourselves, and to receive honour from the younger in preference to them. Submit then to this arrangement, as I speak according to what is ancient, customary, and legal. You, therefore, Cambyses, possess the throne, for the gods give it you, and I, as far as is in my power.

“You, Tanaoxares, I appoint to be satrap of the Medes, Armenians, and Cadusians; and in giving this office to you, I think that while I leave to your elder brother the greater power and the title of king, I allot to you a station of greater happiness;<sup>5</sup> for what human pleasure you will want, I do not see; all that appears to delight mankind will be at your command. But to desire objects difficult of execution, to be anxious about many affairs, to be unable to remain quiet, from being excited by an emulation of my actions to form designs against others, and to be exposed to machinations, are things which must more necessarily affect the king than yourself, and which, be assured, must cause many interruptions to pleasure.

“As for you, Cambyses, you must be aware that it is not this golden sceptre that must preserve your kingdom, but that faithful friends are to kings the safest and most trustworthy sceptre. But do not imagine that men are by

<sup>5</sup> “A happiness more free from trouble.”



nature made faithful (for the same persons would then appear faithful to all, as other natural productions appear the same to all); but every one must make faithful friends for himself; and the acquisition of them is by no means to be effected with violence, but rather by beneficence. If, therefore, you shall seek to make others joint-guardians of your kingdom with yourself, begin with no one sooner than with him who is of the same blood with yourself. Fellow-citizens are more united to us than strangers, and those who eat with us than those who live at a distance from us. But how can those who are sprung from the same stock, who have been nourished by the same mother, who have grown up in the same house, who have been beloved by the same parents, and who have called upon the same mother and father, be otherwise than the most closely united to us of all men? The advantages, therefore, for which the gods lead brothers to union, see that you never render vain; but build upon them other friendly acts; and thus will your friendship always be impregnable. He that cares for his brother cares for himself. To whom is a brother, become great, so much an ornament as to a brother? Or who else will be honoured, on account of a man high in power, so much as his brother? Or whom will any one fear to injure so much as a powerful man's brother? Let no

one, therefore, obey his wishes with greater alacrity, or support him with greater zeal, than yourself; for to no one can his good or ill fortune be more a matter of concern than to you. Take this also into consideration: can you hope for greater advantages from obliging any one than from obliging your brother? Or could you, by assisting any other, secure a more powerful ally? Whom is it more disgraceful not to love than a brother? Whom, of all men, is it more laudable to prefer in honour than a brother? Indeed, Cambyses, it is only when a brother is advanced to the chief place of honour by a brother, that no envy arises on the part of other men.

“In the name of the gods who protect fathers, then, my sons, do honour to one another, if you have any care to do what is acceptable to me. For you cannot, I am sure, imagine, that, after I have ended my period of human life, I shall no longer exist; for neither hitherto did you see my soul, but merely discovered that it existed from what it did. Have you never observed as to the souls of those who have suffered a violent death, what terrors they strike into those who are stained with their blood, and what avenging deities they send upon impious offenders? Do you suppose, too, that honours paid to the dead would still continue, if their souls were utterly without influence? For my part, my sons, I have never been persuaded

that the soul lives only as long as it is in a mortal body, and dies when it is separated from it; for I see that it is the soul which keeps mortal bodies alive, as long as it remains in them. Nor do I feel convinced that the soul will be devoid of sense when it is separated from the senseless body; but it is probable that when the mind is separated, unmixed, and pure, it is then also most intelligent. When the frame of man is dissolved, every part of him is seen returning to that which is of the same nature with itself, except the soul, which alone is seen neither present nor departing. Reflect too," continued he, "that nothing more closely resembles the death of man than sleep; but it is in sleep that the soul of man appears most divine, and it is then that it foresees something of the future; for then, as it seems, it is most free. If, therefore, these things are as I think, and the soul leaves the body, do what I request of you from regard to my soul; but if it be not so, and the soul, remaining in the body, dies with it, yet, from fear of the gods, who are eternal, who behold all things and can do all things, who maintain this order of the universe unimpaired, undecaying, and without defect, neither do, nor meditate, on any occasion, anything impious or unjust.

"Next to the gods, have respect to the whole race of mankind, rising up in perpetual suc-



cession; for the gods do not shroud you in obscurity, but there is a necessity that your actions should always live in the view of all. If they seem to be virtuous and free from injustice, they will render you powerful among all men; but if you meditate what is unjust against each other, you will lose credit with all men; for none could any longer place confidence in you, though he should have the strongest inclination to do so, when he sees him, who is most closely united to you in friendship, wronged by you. If, then, I sufficiently instruct you how you ought to conduct yourselves towards one another, it is well; if not, learn it from those who lived before us, for this is the best mode of learning. Many parents have lived in affection with their children, and many brothers with their brothers; and some have acted towards each other an entirely opposite part; to whichever of these you shall find their conduct to have been beneficial, you will determine well in choosing it for your imitation. But on these subjects I have perhaps said sufficient.

“When I am dead, my children, do not enshrine my body in gold, or in silver, or in any other substance; but restore it to the earth as soon as possible; for what can be more desirable than to be mixed with the earth, which gives birth and nourishment to everything excellent and good? I have always hitherto borne an af-

fection to men, and I feel that I should now gladly be incorporated with that which is beneficial to men. And now," he added, "my soul seems to be leaving me, in the same manner as, it is probable, it begins to leave others. If, therefore, any one of you is desirous of touching my right hand, or is willing to see my face, while it has life, let him come near to me; but when I shall have covered it, I request of you, my sons, let no man, not even yourselves, look upon my body. Summon however all the Persians, and the allies, to my tomb, to rejoice for me, as I shall then be safe from suffering any evil, whether I be with the divine nature, or be reduced to nothing. As many as come, do not dismiss until you have bestowed on them whatever favours are customary at the funeral of a rich man. And remember this, as my last admonition: by doing good to your friends, you will be able also to punish your enemies. Farewell, dear children, and say farewell to your mother as from me; farewell, all my friends, present and absent." Having said this, and taken every one by the right hand, he covered his face and expired.

#### VIII.\*—That Cyrus's empire was the finest

\* Whether this chapter be genuine or spurious, has been much disputed. The affected elegance, but dry uniformity, of its style, so different from that of the rest of the book, and of Xenophon in general, are sufficiently decisive against its genu-

and most extensive of all those in Asia, it testifies for itself. It was bounded on the east by the Erythræan Sea, on the north by the Euxine Sea, on the west by Cyprus and Egypt, on the south by Ethiopia; and, though of such an extent, was governed by the single mind of Cyrus; and those who were subject to him, he treated with esteem and regard, as if they were his own children, while his subjects themselves respected Cyrus as a father. But when Cyrus was dead, his sons soon fell into dissension, cities and nations speedily revolted, and everything changed for the worse. That what I say is true, I will begin to show by speaking of things relating to the gods.

I know that, in former times, the king, and those that were under him, if they took an oath, observed it, or if they made engagements, adhered to them, even in regard to persons who had committed the greatest offences. Had they not been such characters, and borne such a reputation, no person would have trusted them, as no one any longer trusts them now, since their impiety is known; so neither should the generals of the troops that went up with Cyrus<sup>6</sup> have trusted them on that occasion, but, relying on ineness. That Athenæus (xii. 2) should quote it as genuine, may seem somewhat strange, but will prove nothing but that it existed before Athenæus wrote, leaving it not at all the less a forgery.

<sup>6</sup> Cyrus the younger.



their ancient character, they put themselves into their hands, and being taken to the king, had their heads cut off; and many of the Barbarians engaged in that expedition also perished, some deluded by one promise and some by another.

They are also greatly degenerated in regard to the following particulars; for formerly, if any one hazarded his life for his king, or subdued a city or nation, or performed any other honourable or serviceable action, he was distinguished with honour; but now, if any one betrays his father, as Mithridates betrayed Ariobarzanes; or if any one, like Leomithres, having left his wife and children, and his friends' children, as hostages with the king of Egypt, and having violated the most solemn oaths, appears to have served the king by that means, he is loaded with the highest honours. All the people of Asia, being spectators of these proceedings, give themselves up to impiety and injustice; for whatever be the character of the rulers of a state, that of their subjects will be for the most part similar. It is thus that they have become more lawless than they were formerly.

With respect to money, too, they show themselves more unprincipled in the following ways. They seize, not only such as have committed many crimes, but such as have done no wrong, and compel them, for no just cause, to pay fines;

so that those who appear to possess much property, live under no less apprehension than those who have been guilty of many offences; they are neither willing to come into the society of the more powerful, nor do they dare to join the army of the king. Thus, whoever goes to war with the Persians, may fix his abode in the country, just as he pleases, without fighting, in consequence of their impiety towards the gods, and their injustice towards men. In this respect their minds are altogether in a worse condition than formerly.

I will now show that they do not take the same care as formerly to exercise their bodies. It was customary with them not to spit, or blow the nose; a rule which, it is manifest, they did not observe in order to spare the moisture in their bodies, but from a desire to harden their bodies by exercise and perspiration. The custom of not spitting or blowing the nose, indeed, still continues, but that of taking exercises is wholly disregarded. Originally, too, it was their practice to make only one meal<sup>7</sup> a day, that they might employ the rest of the day in business and exercise, and the custom of taking one meal is still observed; but, commencing their meal at the same time as those who dine earliest,

<sup>7</sup> That is, to take only one principal meal in the day: for that they took a meal in the early part of the day is shown by many passages of the *Cyropædia*.

they continue eating and drinking till the latest sitters-up go to bed.

It was likewise a rule among them, not to bring *prochoides*<sup>8</sup> to their banquets; evidently thinking that abstinence from drinking to excess would tend less to impair their bodies and their minds; and the custom of not bringing such vessels still continues; but they drink to such excess, that instead of bringing in, they are themselves carried out, since they are no longer able to walk out upright.

It was also a custom of the country, not to eat or drink when they were journeying from one place to another, or to be seen doing what are the necessary consequences of both. Abstinence in these particulars still continues; but they make their journeys so short, that no one can any longer wonder that they abstain from yielding to those calls of nature.

Formerly they went out hunting so often, that those expeditions were sufficient exercises for themselves and their horses; but, since King Artaxerxes and his courtiers have yielded to the influence of wine, they have neither gone out so frequently themselves, nor have sent out others, to the chase; and if some, from a fondness for

<sup>8</sup> In what sense this word should be taken is by no means agreed. Hesychius, Gataker (*Miscell. Crit.* v. 5), Bornemann, interpret it *matulæ*; but Athenæus (xi. p. 469, c.), Brisson (*de Reg. Pers. Princip.* p. 218), Sturz, and others, think that large cups are meant.



exercise, have gone out hunting with their horsemen about them, the other Persians have manifestly envied and hated them for presuming to seem superior to themselves.

To educate the youth at the gates of the palace is still the custom; but the attainment and practice of horsemanship are extinct, because they do not go where they can gain applause by exhibiting skill in that exercise. Whereas, too, in former times, the boys, hearing causes justly decided there, were considered by that means to learn justice, that custom is altogether altered; for they now see those gain their causes who offer the highest bribes. Formerly, also, boys were taught the virtues of the various productions of the earth, in order that they might use the serviceable, and avoid the noxious; but now they seem to be taught those particulars that they may do as much harm as possible; at least there are nowhere so many killed or injured by poison as in that country.

They are, moreover, far more luxurious now than in the time of Cyrus, for then they still adhered to the institution and temperance of the Persians, combined with the dress and delicacy of the Medes; but now they have suffered the temperance of the Persians to become extinct, while the effeminacy of the Medes they retain. Of their luxury I wish to give some illustrations. In the first place, it is not sufficient for

them to have soft couches spread for them, but they place the feet of their couches upon carpets, that the floor may offer no hard resistance, but that the carpets may yield. Of meats cooked for their tables, whatever were invented in former times, not one is discontinued; but they are always contriving new dishes, as well as sauces, for they have cooks to find out varieties in both. In winter, it is not sufficient for them to have their heads, their bodies, and their feet covered, but they have hair-gloves for their hands, and coverings for the fingers. In summer, the shade of trees and of rocks does not satisfy them; but, under these, men stand near them contriving additional shade.<sup>9</sup> If they possess a great number of cups, they are proud of possessing them; and if they be evidently acquired by unjust means, they are not at all ashamed, for dishonesty and a sordid love of gain are greatly increased among them.

It was once the custom of the country, that they should never be seen travelling on foot, for no other reason, but that they might become more skilful horsemen; now they have more coverings on their horses than on their couches; for they are not so desirous of skill in horsemanship, as of sitting at their ease. With regard to the affairs of war, therefore, how can it be

<sup>9</sup> By the aid of fans and umbrellas, which may be seen represented on the monuments found in the ruins of Persepolis.

otherwise than probable that they should now be inferior in every respect to what they were at first? It was customary, in past times, that those who possessed lands should furnish horsemen from them for the army, and that the soldiers in garrison, if it should be necessary to take the field, should fight as paid troops in defence of the country; but now the great men enrol porters, bakers, cooks, cup-bearers, bathers, men who set dishes on the table and remove them, men who assist people to bed and to get up, dressers who anoint people, paint their faces, and trick them out in other ways, and all such characters, in the cavalry, that they may serve instead of themselves. Of these, accordingly, the number makes a show; but there is no profit in them for war, as events indeed prove, for their enemies find a residence in their country more easily than their friends. Cyrus, having broken them of the custom of skirmishing at a distance, armed with breastplates both them and their horses, gave every one a javelin in his hand, and trained them to close fight; but now they neither skirmish from a distance nor engage hand to hand. The foot have yet shields, bills, and swords, as if they were going to battle under Cyrus, but neither will they venture to come to an engagement. Nor do they any longer use the chariots armed with scythes for the purpose for which Cyrus intended them;



for he, by distinguishing the charioteers with honours, and making them brave, had such as would attack a body of heavy-armed infantry; but the Persians of the present day, scarcely knowing the men in the chariots, imagine that those who are unexercised will be as serviceable as those that have practised; they do, indeed, make an attack, but, before they penetrate the enemy's ranks, some unintentionally fall out, and others jump out, so that the chariots and horses, being without drivers, frequently do more injury to their friends than to their enemies. But since they are sensible of the condition of their troops, they yield to others, and none of them engage in a war without the aid of the Greeks, whether when they contend with one another, or when the Greeks take the field against them; for they resolve not to make war with Greeks without the assistance of Greeks.

I think that I have now executed what I undertook; for I suppose it has been proved that the Persians, and those incorporated with them, are less regardful of piety towards the gods, less just towards their relations, less equitable in their dealings with others, and less vigorous in war, in the present than in former times. If any one thinks differently from me, he will, on considering their conduct, find it verify my statements.





